# ELEMENTS

OF THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND.

VOL. I.

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L. Milot 208 c 24

# ELEMENTS

OF THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND,

FROM

The INVASION of the ROMANS

TO

The Reign of GEORGE the Second.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

THE length and copiouſneſs of Monſ. Milot's preface, render it unneceſſary, and would make it tedious to the reader, for the tranſlator to ſay more here, than that ſhe has endeavored to transfuſe the ſpirit and perſpicuity of her author's ſtyle into the tranſlation; and ſhall think herſelf happy if ſhe has ſucceeded.

She may poſſibly inſert, at the beginning of the third volume, ſome curſory obſervations on hiſtory in general, and that of England in particular, which ſhe once intended prefixing to the firſt.

The reader will find in this hiſtory a few, a very few, reflexions, and thoſe principally in

the preface, which mark the country and religion of the author. The tranſlator is aware, that in accuſing him of prejudice as a Frenchman, and a member of the church of Rome, ſhe may poſſibly, as an Engliſhwoman, and a Proteſtant, be herſelf guilty in ſome degree of the very error ſhe is preſuming to charge on him: ſhe knows how difficult it is to break the ties of education, to change an habitual mode of thinking, and to become abſolutely a citizen of the world. She has only to wiſh, that ſhe may have formed her opinion of this work, have read, tranſlated, and obſerved, in the ſame ſpirit of univerſal charity and philoſophic candor, in which her author wrote.

She has compared this hiſtory throughout with Rapin and Hume; and has the pleaſure to find, that there is no fact of any kind miſrepreſented, and no material one omitted: a very uncommon circumſtance

cumſtance the latter, in ſo ſuccinct a work; a work which, in four ſmall volumes, contains a clear, animated, and, as to every important incident, full and complete, hiſtory, of a country ſo fruitful in great revolutions, and extraordinary events, as our own, during a period of more than ſeventeen hundred years.

THE

THE

# AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THOSE voluminous hiſtories of nations, in which are accumulated little facts, and little circumſtances of ſuch facts as are more worthy of memory, hold a diſtinguiſhed rank in the archives of literature. If exact, they are conſulted on an infinity of objects, often minute, but of which the knowledge is ſometimes neceſſary. If well written, they amuſe the curioſity of thoſe, who to a taſte for ſtudy, join ſufficient leiſure to read works of this diffuſive nature.

Let us not examine what fruit they gather from theſe reſearches, but let us confeſs that they have much to forget; and that from a multitude of immenſe volumes, their minds ſcarce retain ſufficient to compoſe a very moderate epitome, even on the ſuppoſition that they know how to digeſt their reading, which otherwiſe can only produce a confuſion of ideas,

ſimilar to the doubtful gloom of ignorance.

In theſe days, more than ever, men whoſe ſtations in life give them the power of chuſing, make the acquiſition of knowledge a primary object: fathers ſeek to cultivate the reaſon of their children; and the public is convinced, that hiſtory is the beſt ſchool for extending the ſphere of ideas, giving juſt notions of what is truly intereſting to mankind, and inculcating thoſe principles which tend to form the baſis, both of the conduct of individuals, and of the general happineſs. It is therefore an important attempt to place this ſource of information, to which few perſons can attain, within the reach of all mankind.

Abridgements are like canals, by which the expanſion of waters is facilitated; they refine and clear the matter of inſtruction, and, reſtraining it to things neceſſary, without any mixture of unimportant ſuperfluities, render it, at the ſame time, both more pleaſing and more uſeful.

Severe critics have pretended, that theſe kind of works favor indolence, and are only obſtacles to ſound learning.

ing. Ought we not rather to ſay, they diffuſe abroad the riches amaſſed by a number of learned men; that, to an infinity of perſons, they ſupply the place of thoſe ſtudies which they are incapable of purſuing, and from which they could reap no improvement: in ſhort, that if they comprehend whatever valuable is diſperſed in the immenſity of more copious works, they ſpare the reader much labor, without depriving him of any ſolid advantage? Libraries make learned men; but it is a few good books, and thoſe very ſuccinct, that have enlightened nations.

Theſe reflexions have excited me to aim at reſtraining hiſtory to objects worthy of fixing the attention of all ſuch, as leſs ſeek learning than practical knowledge. I have already explained my plan in the preface to another undertaking [*a*]. The preſent work has great advantage over the former, as well in the abundance and variety, as in the almoſt dramatic unfolding, of the ſubjects. I have

[*a*] Elements of the Hiſtory of France, tranſlated by a lady.

endeavored to keep a juſt mean between that extreme conciſeneſs which never fails to leave ſome degree of obſcurity, and that prolixity which enervates the narration, by ſeeking to render it more perſpicuous.

No modern hiſtory, it muſt be confeſſed, preſents to our view ſo great a number of ſtriking pictures as that of England. We ſee here a people, free, warlike, unconquerable, and a long time ferocious, preſerve the ſame characteriſtic qualities through a ſucceſſive train of bloody revolutions. Depreſſed by the arms and by the deſpotiſm of the ambitious William, duke of Normandy; gloriouſly governed by Henry the ſecond, the moſt powerful monarch of Europe, though embroiled with the church. They groaned afterwards under the tyranny of king John; and this very tyranny procured them the Great Charter, the eternal baſis of their freedom. The Engliſh then gave their crown to France, drove out the French prince they had called to the throne, and became the terror of the monarchy of Clovis, which ſeemed on the point of ſubmitting to the yoke.

yoke. But France, at length, after an interval of calamity and madneſs, diſplayed its reſources, recovered its ancient glory, inſeparable from the cauſe of its kings; triumphed over a haughty enemy, whoſe victories were the fruit of our fatal diſſenſions; and, to revenge itſelf, had only occaſion to leave it a prey to diſſenſions ſtill more cruel. Two rival, yet kindred, houſes, impelled to arms by rage and ambition, ſnatched from each other's brows a diadem drenched in blood; princes aſſaſſinated princes; the people maſſacred each other for the choice of a maſter; and England now became a theatre of anarchy and carnage. Under the Tudors we ſee tranquillity reſtored, and the national ſtrength augmented; but liberty deſtroyed. A prince, violent and capricious, habituates to the chains of deſpotiſm this proud and reſtleſs nation. He domineers arbitrarily over religion itſelf; and Rome, for having oppoſed him, loſes at one blow a kingdom which had ever been one of its moſt fruitful ſources of ſervices and of riches. Mary attempts, in vain, to reſtore, by ſevere puniſhments, a wor-

ſhip, which, having truth for its baſis, ought to ſubdue minds by no arms but thoſe of perſuaſion. She ſucceeds only in making inconſtant hypocrites, or inflexible fanatics; ſhe renders for ever deteſtable, herſelf, and the faith ſhe wiſhes to eſtabliſh. At length Elizabeth reigns. Her genius enchains fortune, fertilizes the earth, animates all the arts, opens to her people the immenſe career of commerce, and fixes, in ſome degree, in the ocean the foundations of the Engliſh dominion. Continually ſurrounded by enemies, either foreign or domeſtic, ſhe defeats conſpiracies by her prudence; and triumphs by her courage over the forces of Philip the ſecond; happy, if ſhe had known how to conquer her own heart, and ſpare a rival whoſe blood alone tarniſhes her memory! But how impenetrable are the decrees of Heaven! The ſon of Mary Stuart ſucceeds to Elizabeth; the ſcaffold on which his mother received the ſtroke of death, ſerves him as a ſtep to mount the throne of England, from whence his ſon is deſtined to be precipitated, to expire on a ſcaffold

fold alſo. It is at this period we behold multiplying rapidly before our eyes, thoſe celebrated ſcenes of which the univerſe furniſhes no examples: an abſurd fanaticiſm forming profound ſyſtems of policy, at the ſame time that it ſignalizes itſelf by prodigies of folly and extravagance: an enlightened enthuſiaſt, a great general and ſtateſman, opening to himſelf, under the maſk of piety, the road to the ſupreme power: ſubjects carrying on judicially the trial of a virtuous monarch, and cauſing him to be publicly beheaded as a rebel: the hypocritical author of this attempt reigning with as much glory as power; rendering himſelf the arbiter of crowns, and enjoying, even to the tomb, the fruits of his tyranny: the parliament, the ſlave of the Tudors, the tyrant of the Stuarts, the accomplice and dupe of Cromwell, exerciſing the nobleſt right which men can poſſeſs over their fellow-creatures, that of making laws, and maintaining their execution: at length, from this chaos of horrors, comes forth a form of government which excites the admiration of all Europe. A ſudden revolution again changes

the face of affairs. The lawful heir is acknowledged; his ſtormy reign develops the ſentiments of patriotiſm; the imprudence of his ſucceſſor alarms the national ſpirit of liberty; his ſubjects revolt, they call in a deliverer; the ſtadtholder of Holland dethrones, without bloodſhed, his timid and irreſolute father-in-law; the uſurpation is eſtabliſhed by the ſanction of the laws; but thoſe very laws impoſe conditions on the prince, and whilſt he holds the balance of Europe, his will is almoſt without force in England. After him a woman preſides over the deſtiny of nations, makes France tremble, humbles Lewis the fourteenth, and covers herſelf with immortal glory, by giving him peace, in ſpite of the clamors of an ambitious cabal. Anne, with leſs talents, and more virtues, than Elizabeth, has merited one of the firſt places amongſt great monarchs. The ſceptre paſſes again into foreign hands; complicated intereſts embarraſs the government; and the Britiſh conſtitution ſeems declining from its original principles, till ſome favorable conjuncture ſhall arrive, which may reſtore it to its priſtine vigor.

To

To this very imperfect ſummary of the principal epochas, let us add the detail of thoſe laws ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed, to form a rampart to liberty, and lay the foundation of public order; the progreſs of letters and of ſciences, ſo cloſely connected with the happineſs and glory of ſtates; the ſingularities of the Engliſh genius, profound, contemplative, yet capable of every extreme; the intereſting picture of parliamentary debates, fruitful in ſcenes, the variety and ſpirit of which equally ſtrike us. The reader will eaſily conceive that this hiſtory is unparalleled in its kind. In other countries, princes, nobles, fill the entire theatre; here, men, citizens, act a part which is infinitely more intereſting to man.

Since the publication of Rymer's collection, ſeveral able writers have availed themſelves of the ineſtimable materials which that work ſupplies. Among theſe, Rapin de Thoyras, a French author, was the firſt who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this career. As an hiſtorian, judicious, exact, methodical, he exhauſts his ſubject, he deſcends to the minuteſt par-

ticulars; but, growing tedious by being too diffuſe, he ſoon overburdens the imagination, at the expence of what he ought to engrave on the memory. A more eſſential reproach which he deſerves, is that of betraying a prejudice againſt his own country (which by the ſeverities of Lewis the fourteenth had incurred the reſentment of the Proteſtants) and of favoring the ſect of the Puritans, thoſe dangerous enthuſiaſts, the ſyſtem of whoſe religion tends only to render men ſavage; and their ſyſtem of independence to make them factious and rebellious.

Two Engliſh writers have lately treated the ſame ſubject, with the advantage of thoſe ſuperior lights, which in general the natives of the country have over foreigners in the hiſtory of their own nation. Their works have no reſemblance to each other but in the title.

Mr. Smollet only repreſents facts, relates each circumſtance with uniformity, gives little ſcope to reflexion, neither warms the imagination nor the heart, and by a feeble heavy ſtile, tires while he informs, the reader.

Mr.

Mr. Hume unites perſpicuity and preciſion, ſolidity and elegance; he copies nature in his paintings, without the appearance of art; he uſually ſeizes the moſt intereſting point of view, and there places his objects, which ſeem to arrange themſelves; ſparing us the barren and gazette-like ſameneſs of military operations; without paſſing over in ſilence the memorable exploits of heroes, he principally ſets before our eyes the manners, the laws, the paſſions, the follies of mankind, the changeful caprices of fortune, the regular connection of cauſes with effects. No author was ever more ſuperior to the prejudices which darken hiſtorical truth. If, as a Proteſtant, he ſometimes affronts the ſanctity of our tenets, yet he does not diſguiſe the madneſs or the wickedneſs of his own ſect; if, as a ſubject of Great Britain, he is attached to the principles of his own country, he attempts not to palliate the exceſſes which the fanaticiſm of liberty has produced there; he is not unjuſt to other nations; he as little flatters popular prejudices as the intereſts of the court; always impartial

between the violent factions which divide the kingdom, he ſeems to be the organ of the judgement of poſterity, and his countrymen would applaud him, as well as leſs prejudiced foreigners, if parties would unite in favor of a writer who has the ſingular merit of favoring none. In ſhort, philoſophy and policy have dictated the hiſtory of Mr. Hume, one of the beſt adapted ever written, under proper reſtrictions, to form the ſage, the ſtateſman, and the citizen.

The revolutions of England, by F. Orleans, will not bear a compariſon with the exact and comprehenſive hiſtories of which I have been ſpeaking. This is a work more brilliant than ſolid, more pleaſing than inſtructive; his ideas of government, of legiſlation, and of manners, are very ſuperficial; all that regards the Stuarts, is written with too glaring a partiality; the French jeſuit there regulates moſt of his opinions, either by the intereſts of the court of Rome, or by the principles of the French monarchy; as if the conſtitution of England did not, as even its ſovereigns acknowledge, differ eſſentially from that of other

other nations; as if the regal authority had not there ſome limits, which it cannot paſs, without infringing on the rights of the nation. Civil and political actions are laudable or blameable, according to their agreement or diſagreement with the laws of each reſpective country. That which would be thought patriotiſm in Switzerland, or Holland, might be treated as rebellion in England; and that which would be deemed by us a legal exertion of authority, might at London be an act of uſurpation and violence.

Nothing more ſtrongly proves, how much it imports an hiſtorian to diveſt himſelf of all perſonal concern, of all thoſe borrowed ideas which men tranſmit one to another without examination. Does he belong to a ſociety, or to a party? Behold him in ſome ſort governed by thoſe factitious acquired opinions from which it is impoſſible for him abſolutely to defend himſelf. The greater power and influence the body to which he belongs poſſeſſes over its members, the leſs will he be permitted to conſult or to follow reaſon. Either truth will veil herſelf with a cloud from his eyes,

or he will want courage to diſplay her to others as ſhe appears to himſelf. It is thus, that hiſtory takes a tincture from the prejudices of the hiſtorian. The man of learning, without connexions to warp his integrity, is, however, encompaſſed with objects capable of leading him into error. Every one who has a country and a religion (eſpecially if he is attached to the true faith) has occaſion for as much ſagacity as courage, to conciliate, on one part, the duties of a citizen, and the juſtice to which all mankind have a right; and, on the other, a proper ſubmiſſion to the belief he profeſſes, and the neceſſity of acknowledging the abuſes which ignorance and fanaticiſm have ſometimes blended with it.

But an author, zealous for the public good, will find notwithſtanding in this thorny path encouragements proportioned to the difficulty of the enterprize. What more proper, either to puniſh a thinking being for having given way to the fatal illuſions of vice, or to conduct it to happineſs by the road of truth and virtue, than hiſtory applied to the purpoſes of

of morality, and the acquiſition of a juſt knowledge of our duties? The importance of this ſubject obliges me here to enter into a detail in ſome degree minute.

Three general principles ſeem to contain the firſt ſeeds of civil felicity; the firſt, that *man* finds his true intereſt in being virtuous; the ſecond, that *the citizen* ought to content himſelf with thoſe advantages which the government and laws of his country procure him; the third, that *the Chriſtian* ought to find in his religion ſentiments of peace and good will towards all mankind. Now all that moral philoſophy can urge moſt convincing on theſe maxims, falls infinitely ſhort of the perſuaſive leſſons of hiſtory. The former demonſtrates by reaſoning, the latter touches by facts.

The diſplay of celebrated virtues and vices, has only occaſion for a moment's reflexion, to impreſs the firſt principle on the very bottom of our hearts. At ſight of the eſteem, the confidence, the praiſes, which follow virtue, the noble actions it produces, the dignity of mind and tranquillity

it inſpires, is it poſſible to refuſe it our homage, or not to feel the impulſive force of that inſtinct which carries us to embrace it? At ſight of the enormity, the baſeneſs, the infamy of vice, the ſhame with which it is tarniſhed, the tortures with which it wrings the ſoul, and the misfortunes to which it expoſes its wretched votaries, can we behold it otherwiſe than with horror and deteſtation, as the diſgrace, and the ſcourge of human nature? We ſee it often, it is true, taſte the ſweetneſs of proſperity, whilſt virtue appears bending under the weight of adverſe fortune. But what bitterneſs poiſons the tranſitory enjoyments of the one, what heartfelt ſatisfaction compenſates the ſufferings of the other! Who will dare to envy the fate of Henry the eighth, more tormented by his own paſſions, than his wives and his ſubjects by his tyranny? what man, even was he in the rank of princes, would not prefer the fate of Sir Thomas More, ſmiling on the executioner, who was preparing to crown his virtues by freeing him from the load of life? or, of the great Alfred, deſpoiled of his crown, and re-

duced to conceal himſelf in uninhabited retreats, till he could iſſue forth the deliverer, the legiſlator, the father, and the model, of his people? what man, actuated by ambition or by avarice, would deſire the unſtable greatneſs and riches of a Wolſey, the ignominious power of a Cromwell? This enumeration might be extended to infinity. Hiſtory never ceaſes to demonſtrate, in ſpite of every act of human injuſtice, in ſpite of the blaſphemy of the dying Brutus, that the wiſe and juſt man, whatever adverſity he may experience, has always ſufficient reaſon to felicitate himſelf on his virtue; but that injuſtice, perfidy, deceit, debauchery, and rapine, every vice and every crime, revenges on itſelf the evils which it inflicts on ſociety.

To be happy, the citizen ought to repoſe himſelf under the protection of the laws, and content himſelf with the advantages which the government of his country procures him. This is alſo one of thoſe important truths of which hiſtory carries the demonſtration. No government is perfect, or free from every inconvenience.

The

The abuſe of authority adds to the intrinſic defects of human legiſlation. That which was advantageous to ſociety at one time, becomes pernicious at another; nor is there any thing which is not capable of being made better. Oppoſers of government will never want ſubjects for their libellous complaints. Even the true citizen [*b*] is permitted to form wiſhes, that the adminiſtration may become more uncorrupt, juſtice be better diſtributed, and every part of the ſtate more flouriſhing. But if once ſubjects give themſelves up to the ſpirit of cabal and rebellion; if, diſdaining the advantages they poſſeſs, they run after a chimera of good which it is impoſſible to realize, there neceſſarily reſults a leaven of diſſenſion, equally fatal to the public repoſe and the tranquillity of individuals. What diſturbances and misfortunes has it not produced in England! That unquiet, turbulent, factious nation; what has it gained by ſo many attacks on the government, ſo many violent ſhocks

[*b*] Happily in England the *true citizen* is permitted to do more.

given

given to the royal authority [c]? Dreadful convulſions tore the bowels of this unhappy country; the kingdom was drenched in blood; diſcord lighted up her fatal torch in the boſom of families; the falling throne cruſhed a crowd of unhappy perſons under its ruins; the pretended deliverers ſoon became tyrants; the people, whilſt they believed themſelves combating for liberty, were forging themſelves new chains; and the fruit of ſo many commotions, ſuch a ſeries of civil wars, was reduced to the regret of having irritated the wounds of the ſtate. If the Engliſh, now that their conſtitution is fixed, complain ſtill inceſſantly of regal prerogative, and parliamentary corruption; let us, whom the laws protect under a mild and permanent form of government, bleſs heaven for finding there that interior peace for which no other advantage can compenſate; and wait without anxiety till time, and the goodneſs of our princes, reform thoſe

[c] We will anſwer Monſ. Milot's queſtion in his own words: Enfin de ce Chaos, plein d'horreurs, ſortit une forme de gouvernment qui excite l'admiration de toute l'Europe.

abuſes

abuſes which cannot ſafely be removed except by ſlow degrees [*d*]. Hiſtory teaches ſovereigns and the great, that they can only be themſelves happy by devoting themſelves to the happineſs of their people; but it alſo teaches the people, that they ought not to expect from the great, and from ſovereigns, a perfection above humanity.

Monteſquieu thus expreſſes himſelf, "In an age of ignorance, they act without heſitation even when they commit the greateſt ills: in more enlightened times, they tremble even when they are doing what is moſt for the public good. They perceive the ancient abuſes, they ſee the proper means of correcting them; but they ſee alſo the abuſes to be apprehended from that very correction." *To love our duties, our prince, our country, the laws by which we are protected, to be*

[*d*] To do juſtice to our author, the Engliſh reader ought to remember, not only that he is himſelf a Frenchman, but that he is writing to Frenchmen: and that every wiſe man will inculcate obedience to the eſtabliſhed government and laws of his country, even where that government and thoſe laws are defective.

*ſenſible*

*ſenſible of our happineſs in every country, under every government, and in every ſtation, in which we find ourſelves*; is the doctrine that ſublime genius wiſhes to inculcate after having examined the political ſyſtems of all nations. *(Preface to the Spirit of Laws.)*

To conclude, one of the moſt important leſſons of hiſtory is, to impreſs on the mind of every Chriſtian, of whatever denomination, thoſe ſentiments of peace and good-will, which religion demands of him, as a duty, in reſpect to all mankind. By what ſtrange perverſion of principles then has a religion, the very ſoul of which is charity, a religion which breathes only ſoftneſs, patience, and mercy, which obliges us not only to pardon, but to do good to our enemies, which formally condemns vain diſputes and captious queſtions, which adviſes us above all things to eſtabliſh and to preſerve peace with all men, ſo often ſerved as a pretext to a degree of fury and animoſity, of which falſe religions ſcarce furniſh an example? How has *theological hatred* become a proverb, whilſt the doctors of our holy law ought to be the patterns,

as well as interpreters, of the goſpel morality? This deplorable phænomenon, favored by ignorance, has long perpetuated its influence. Whoever reflects on hiſtory, will ſoon feel the abſurdity of ſo deteſtable a frenzy. If he does not learn to diſtruſt his reaſon on the borders of that abyſs into which ſo many ſuperior ſpirits have fallen, if the well-grounded fear of erring himſelf does not render him indulgent to the errors of his fellow-creatures; at leaſt he will ſee evidently that exceſſes of this kind have cauſed infinite evils in the world; that the church has ſuffered as ſeverely from them as the ſtate; and that a miſguided zeal would have deſtroyed religion itſelf, if it had reſted on leſs ſolid foundations.

Read only, may we ſay to imprudent zealots, the Engliſh annals. Experience is the moſt certain of all guides. Conſult it, and then form your judgement. Scarce had William the Conqueror eſtabliſhed his dominion by arms, when Gregory the ſeventh attempted by his bulls to ſubject the whole Chriſtian world to the pontifical throne. He treats as ſimony and

hereſy,

hereſy, an ancient cuſtom, which has no object but to maintain the rights of crowns over the temporalities of the church. Under this frivolous pretence, he depoſes ſovereigns, and obliges them to draw the ſword, in their own defence, againſt the ſpiritual power which they revere. The primate, St. Anſelm, conceives it his duty to reſiſt kings, as if he acted in the cauſe of God himſelf; and the kingdom is already filled with diſturbances which expoſe the clergy to hatred and oppreſſion. Do illegal immunities ſerve them for a rampart? The falſe decretals furniſh them with new claims: St. Thomas of Canterbury indiſcretely ſupports them; he oppoſes the accuſtomed uſages of England, which he treats as impieties; the epiſcopal order divides, the ſtate is in flames, the throne appears tottering; a horrible murder puts an end to the quarrel: Becket is its victim; but the fire extinguiſhed by his blood leaves inflammable materials, which only require a ſpark to rekindle them. After the anathemas and exactions of the court of Rome have wearied the patience of the Engliſh, and that the monks,

monks, the blinded eccleſiaſtics, have augmented the ſubjects of murmur by protecting inſupportable abuſes, a daring ſectary, Wickliff, irritated by the pope, forms from theſe abuſes a torrent of invectives againſt the church; by decrying its miniſters, he ſaps, he overturns its authority; he ſhakes its doctrines, by attacking its power and riches; he ſtirs up the people to range themſelves under the ſtandard of a liberty bordering on ſedition; and though he ſinks under the enterprize, his hereſy, ever renewing, gives birth to twenty others ſects, equally deſtructive to the ancient faith. Behold Henry the eighth, after having perſecuted the Lutherans, become the enemy of Rome, and the perſecutor of the Catholics; aſſume the ſupremacy, and erect himſelf into an abſolute maſter in matters of faith, becauſe the ſentence of excommunication was promulgated againſt him at the very moment when he was about to conſent to ſatisfy the holy ſee. Behold the blazing piles of Mary giving to fanaticiſm martyrs, whoſe courageous defence increaſes the number of its votaries. Behold the

the excommunication of Elizabeth, firmly eſtabliſhing that ſchiſm which the tyranny of her ſiſter had been unable to extirpate. Since that time, how often have we ſeen theſe tranſports of zeal followed by the moſt fatal effects! Catholics, Proteſtants, Partizans of the church of England, Preſbyterians, realizing what Ammianus relates of the fourth century, during the Arian controverſy, that the Chriſtians, in their cruelties to each other, ſurpaſſed the ferocity of ſavage beaſts. The gunpowder plot, the Iriſh maſſacre, diſhonored the Catholic party; and the rage of the Puritans, as well in Scotland as in England, filled up the meaſure of theſe enormities. From this ſource, the oaths enjoined to violate conſcience in the name of the laws; from hence, the legal ſeverities exerciſed againſt the catholics, and the bills of excluſion carried on againſt the legal heir to the throne; from hence the expulſion of the laſt prince of the houſe of Stuart, and that invincible hatred to the ancient church, which he endeavored forcibly to eſtabliſh; from hence, in ſhort, by a contrary extreme,

that contempt of all religion, and that unjuſt and illiberal philoſophy, which preſumptuouſly accuſes Chriſtianity of cauſing thoſe very evils from which it would have freed the world, if the maxims of the Goſpel had unvariably regulated the conduct of its profeſſors.

It is undoubtedly a painful taſk, to dwell on ſubjects afflicting to the Chriſtian name. But true religion is beſt known by diſplaying its contraſt; and the ſpirit of party continues ſtill to make ſuch ravages in ſociety, that we muſt be wilfully blind, not to ſee the neceſſity of diſpelling its illuſion. Beſides, hiſtory impoſes a rigorous obligation to ſpeak the truth with the moſt diſintereſted frankneſs. Let the ſcrupulous and prejudiced reproach a writer with revealing what they would bury in ſilence, though delivered down in the beſt books our libraries contain; with exhibiting more examples of vices than of virtues, as if virtues were not generally more uncommon and more obſcure than vices, the painting of which alone is ſo proper to inſpire a love of virtue; with not palliating the faults

faults of ſome popes, who, by their monſtrous pretenſions and unjuſt decrees, have fanned the flame of diſcord in every Chriſtian ſtate; with diſapproving the chimerical claims of the court of Rome, when ſhe arrogates to herſelf a temporal and deſpotic dominion over crowned heads; with repreſenting the ancient exceſſes and ſuperſtitions of the clergy and monks, who at preſent glory in acknowledging and condemning thoſe very abuſes; with diſhonoring the religious orders by relating facts, already too public, by which ſeveral of their members, in the times of fanaticiſm, ſhewed themſelves unworthy of their holy profeſſion; with lamenting the inconveniences of theological quarrels puſhed to exceſs, whilſt our own age furniſhes ſuch deplorable examples, &c. &c. This ſpecies of cenſors confound the prejudices of particular bodies with the intereſts of religion, which is independent of all prejudice: but they will never convince others, that an hiſtorian is permitted, much leſs ordained, by any law, to flatter the miniſters of the altar more than miniſters of ſtate, ma-

giſtrates, and princes; and as I am unacquainted with the ſecret of accommodating hiſtory to their ideas, I think I ought to follow other principles till the public ſhall adopt theirs. Averſe to ſatire, ſincerely loving the truth, I diſavow all which can wound the loweſt of mankind, and am ready to correct the ſmalleſt error which an impartial critic ſhall diſcover in this work.

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ELEMENTS

# ELEMENTS
## OF THE
# HISTORY
## OF
# ENGLAND.

## ENGLAND under the ROMANS.

GREAT Britain was little known before Cæſar formed the deſign of ſubduing it. The only intereſting circumſtance known to us is, that the Britons, deſcended from the Gauls or Celtes, lived free in the moſt profound barbariſm. Thoſe who inhabited the country ſituated to the ſouth eaſt, already practiſing agriculture, were more diſpoſed to civilization. The other inhabitants, ignorant of all but the

Manners of the ancient Britons.

care of their flocks, led a wandering life in the midſt of their woods and marſhes. This warlike nation, extremely jealous of its liberty, was divided into ſmall communities, under kings, or rather chiefs, of a very limited authority. The prieſts called Druids. Druids preſided in the government. They ruled the minds of men by the terrors of ſuperſtition. Exempt from taxes and military ſervice, entruſted with the education of youth, arbiters of all diſputes, judges of all affairs, as well criminal as civil, reſpected as oracles, and feared almoſt equally with their gods, they puniſhed the diſobedient by a kind of anathema ſo terrible that death itſelf appeared often preferable to the conſequences of this chaſtiſement. Human ſacrifices, and ſeveral barbarous ſuperſtitions, made part of their religious worſhip; and the doctrine of the ſoul's immortality, ſo neceſſary to inſpire virtue, or deter from vice, was in their hands a powerful weapon to enforce ſubmiſſion to their orders. The religion of the Druids muſt have been very dangerous, ſince the Romans employed the rigor of penal laws againſt it, in ſpite of

of that ſyſtem of toleration which they had till that time always followed.

No motive but the deſire of glory could have tempted Julius Cæſar to an invaſion of this unknown country. The conqueror of the Gauls aſpired to be alſo the conqueror of Great Britain. He landed there in the year fifty-five before Chriſt, and obliged the Britons to enter into engagements which they broke as ſoon as his departure had reſtored their courage. He returned the following year, paſſed the Thames in their ſight, and in appearance ſubdued them. But even to the reign of Claudius, the Roman dominion in Britain was little more than a name. Two generals of this emperor ſucceſſively defeated them, and he came himſelf to receive the homage of thoſe who, poſſeſſing and cultivating lands, with leſs reluctance ſacrificed libert, to the advantages of peace. Suetonius Paulinus, general of Nero, gave them a terrible blow by attacking the iſle of Mona, now Angleſea, the principal retreat of the Druids. He found theſe prieſts, and even the women, intermixed with the ſoldiers to reſiſt him. Their cries, their ſavage

The Romans penetrate into Great Britain.

leaps, their imprecations, did not deter the Romans from purſuing them. They deſtroyed the altars and conſecrated groves: they hoped to ſecure their conqueſt by this triumph over the ſuperſtition of the barbarians. But the conqueror was no ſooner at a diſtance than they took arms again under the conduct of their queen Boadicea, a heroine who breathed nothing but vengeance. London was already a conſiderable colony: it was deſtroyed by fire and ſword. Seventy thouſand men were there cruelly maſſacred. Suetonius gained in his turn a deciſive victory, and Boadicea by a voluntary death preſerved herſelf from falling into his hands.

A. D. 78. Agricola ſubdues the Britons.

The glory of ſubduing the Britons was reſerved for Julius Agricola, whoſe eminent talents and virtues Tacitus has rendered immortal. This great man conquered the ſouthern parts of the iſland, drove the moſt ferocious of the inhabitants northwards, defeated them in a battle; and after having forced them into the mountains of Caledonia, or Scotland, raiſed a rampart againſt their incurſions. The reſt of the country, now become

become a Roman province, was civilized by his cares. He introduced there arts, politeneſs, ſciences; an infallible method of forming a people to the yoke which a maſter wiſhes to impoſe. The Britons loſt by degrees the love of independence, in their taſte for the pleaſures and advantages of poliſhed life. Adrian, Antoninus, and Severus, added afterwards new fortifications to the wall of Agricola; and this province long enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, without its inhabitants entertaining a thought of their ancient liberty.

The Romans abandon Great Britain.

The Roman empire had weakened itſelf by too many conqueſts. A deluge of northern barbarians came pouring in on this enormous power which oppreſſed the univerſe. Italy and the Gauls were over-run by them. It became neceſſary to recal from the frontiers, the legions which were ſtationed there for their defence. The Scots and Picts, confined in Caledonia, now paſſed the wall of ſeparation, ravaged the lands of their enervated neighbors, and gave them cauſe to fear the intire loſs of thoſe poſſeſſions which they had preferred to a free condition.

The Britons implored the ſuccour of Rome. They ſent them one legion. The enemy, at firſt diſperſed, returned to the charge, after the departure of the legion. They ſent a ſecond, which found as little reſiſtance. But the Romans had affairs more preſſing. Reſolved to abandon for ever Great Britain, where their government had ſubſiſted about four hundred years, they exhorted their ſubjects to defend themſelves, and bid them a laſt adieu, after having aſſiſted them to rebuild the wall of Severus; an enterprize which the Britons had no workmen capable of executing, ſo far were they from that luxury to which the monkiſh hiſtorians have aſcribed their defeats. Luxury muſt be unknown where even the neceſſary arts fail of being cultivated.

A.D. 448. Invaſion of the Scots and Picts.

The cowardly Britons (for to their cowardice all their misfortunes are to be attributed) ſaw themſelves ſoon a prey to the ferocious rapacity of the Scots and Picts. They applied in vain to the celebrated Ætius, whoſe courage ſupported the empire on the brink of ruin. "The barbarians, ſaid they, drive us to the ſea, the ſea drives

us back to the barbarians; and we have only the choice of periſhing by the ſword or the waves." Their complaints and ſupplications had little effect on this general, too much occupied with the war againſt Attila. Reduced to deſpair, incapable of any generous effort, they abandoned their ſettlements, and ſought an aſylum in the woods. The retreat of the enemy, who in a ravaged country were ſoon expoſed to the miſeries of famine, put them in a ſtate to repair their diſaſters. Agriculture reſtored abundance. They thought only of enjoying it, without forecaſt, without precaution againſt inevitable dangers. Their neighbors, always avid of prey, did not wait long to menace them anew. Theological diſputes, occaſioned by their countryman Pelagius, gave birth to pernicious diviſions. Want of harmony in the government became a ſource of diſſentions. Vortigern, one of their princes, unhappily engaged them to ſeek aſſiſtance in Germany. They ſent with this deſign an embaſſy to the Saxons; and invited over the people by whom they were to be enſlaved.

## ENGLAND under the SAXONS.

Character of the Germans.

THE manners of the Germans are known, by the picture drawn of them by Cæſar and Tacitus. Courage and love of liberty formed the baſis of their character. Their princes had over them only an authority limited by the laws, and ſubordinate to the general will. All affairs of conſequence were decided in the military council, where theſe warlike nations had very early accuſtomed themſelves to deliver their ſentiments. Inviolably attached to their chiefs, they thought it infamous not to revenge them when killed in battle, or to ſurvive their defeat. Women, children, followed to the field their huſbands and fathers, who had always to combat for objects ſo precious. They neglected agriculture for arms; and every year made a new diſtribution of the lands, leſt the attachment to property ſhould weaken that martial ardor of which they felt the importance. Such a nation could not fail of enſlaving a people already ſoftened, and accuſtomed to obedience.

The

The Saxons inhabited the ſea coaſt reaching to Jutland from the mouth of the Rhine. More greedy of pillage and of conqueſt than the other Germans, they ſeized willingly the opportunity which preſented itſelf. Hengiſt and Horſa, two brothers whoſe birth and authority they reſpected, engaged them to conſent to the requeſt of the Britons, with a deſign of profiting by their weakneſs. They paſſed the ſea in three veſſels, attacked the Picts and Scots, diſperſed them, and learned by this eaſy victory the advantages they might gain over their allies. Barbarians have little regard to good faith. To conquer and reap the fruits of their conqueſt, is with them virtue. The two brothers ſent to acquaint their countrymen with the fertility of the country and the ſtate of its inhabitants, and invited them to a conqueſt as eaſy as it was advantageous. Five thouſand Saxons embarked to join them. The Britons, beginning to diſtruſt theſe formidable defenders, ſought at leaſt to gain them by the moſt ſervile complaiſance. But their new friends were reſolved to oppreſs them. They made an alliance with the barbarians of Scot-

The Saxons in Great Britain.

land whom they had vanquiſhed, and turned their arms againſt the people who had called them to their aſſiſtance.

Hengiſt extends his conqueſts.

It has been ſaid, that to favor their eſtabliſhment Hengiſt availed himſelf of his ſiſter, a woman of extraordinary beauty, with whom Vortigern became paſſionately in love. Be this as it may, this Britiſh prince, diſhonored by his vices, was depoſed. His ſon Vortimer ſucceeded him. The ancient valor of the Britons ſeemed to revive under his command. That indignation which the blackeſt perfidy muſt neceſſarily excite augmented their hatred of ſlavery. Hengiſt, in the mean time, with the reinforcements which he received from Germany, rapidly extended his power. Nothing was ſpared by the Saxons. Women, children, old men, prieſts, fell, like the warriors, a ſacrifice to their undiſtinguiſhing fury. Part of the Britons fled into Armorica, now Britany, from whence their anceſtors originally came. They found there their language, their manners, and a happy hoſpitality. This province of Gaul took their name, after having ſerved them for an aſylum.

Vortimer being dead, a Briton of Roman extraction, called Ambroſius, took the command, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of it. His courage, and the efforts of his unhappy countrymen, did not however ſuffice to chaſe away the uſurpers. Hengiſt, about the year 448, founded the kingdom of Kent, compoſed of the counties of Kent, Middleſex, Eſſex, and part of Surry. His ſucceſs invited new colonies of Germans. The Angles, or Engliſh, joined themſelves to the Saxons. They had the ſame language, the ſame cuſtoms. Their intereſt united them againſt the ancient inhabitants, who after ſeveral defeats took refuge in the inacceſſible mountains of Cornwall and Wales. Ella, who arrived from Germany in the year 477, eſtabliſhed himſelf in the ſouthern part of the iſland, and became king of Suſſex. Cerdick, another Saxon conqueror, met with more reſiſtance. The famous Arthur, the hero of ſo many fables, whom the writers of romance celebrate as the founder of the *Round Table*, gained ſeveral victories againſt him. He did not however give up the deſign of founding, with his ſon Kenrick, the kingdom of Weſſex, Arthur.

Weſſex, comprehending the counties of Hants, Dorſet, Wilts, Berks, and the iſle of Wight. The kingdoms of Eaſt-Anglia, of Mercia, and of Eſſex, took riſe about the ſame time. That of Northumberland goes back only to the year 547; it extended even into Scotland. A certain proof that the Germans peopled ſome provinces of Scotland is, that they yet ſpeak there pure Saxon. This circumſtance ſtrongly contradicts the fabulous relations of the Scots reſpecting their origin.

The Heptarchy.

Thus took riſe the Heptarchy, or ſeven Saxon kingdoms eſtabliſhed in Great Britain. Except in Wales and Cornwall, all was changed: inhabitants, manners, language, government. We find few revolutions ſo general. The other Germans, who had ſubdued the Gauls, had not ſignalized themſelves by the ſame ſlaughter and devaſtation. Far from exterminating theconquered people, they treated them with mildneſs: and Clovis by this prudent policy firmly eſtabliſhed his dominion. But as the Saxons arrived in different bodies, and met an obſtinate reſiſtance, their wars with the Britons were long and bloody; obſtacles irritated their ferocity,

ferocity, and maſſacre appeared to them neceſſary to confirm their eſtabliſhment.

We will not attempt to unravel the chaos of the Heptarchy. Confuſion and eternal darkneſs involve that period, notwithſtanding the painful and ſuperfluous efforts of Rapin to throw light upon it. Nothing can ſupply the want of hiſtorical monuments. The monks, the only hiſtorians of thoſe times, had neither the taſte, diſcernment, knowledge, or impartiality, neceſſary to inſtruct ſucceeding ages. Their credulity adopted abſurd fables, their ignorance omitted things eſſential. Regarding all objects as they had relation to eccleſiaſtical affairs, they only rendered the accounts of civil government more obſcure. Without forming a regular plan, let us confine ourſelves to bringing together thoſe ſcattered circumſtances which are moſt worthy to inſtruct the human mind. Let us above all avoid embarraſſing the memory by liſts of names worthy of that obſcurity in which they remain, and by dates which have no reference to any memorable events.

THE

# THE HEPTARCHY.

## Kingdom of KENT.

THE two ſucceſſors of Hengiſt thought more of enjoying the fruits of his conqueſts, than of imitating his exploits. Ethelbert, his great grandſon, ſeems to have inherited his courage as well as his ambition. After ſome unfortunate expeditions againſt Ceaulin king of Weſſex, who aimed at a ſuperiority in the Heptarchy, he deſtroyed his army with the aſſiſtance of ſome other Saxon princes, and reduced the latter to a degree of dependence. He made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Mercia, the moſt conſiderable of them all, which he, from new motives of prudence, but upon very hard conditions, reſtored to the lawful heir. General intereſt had re-united the Saxons againſt the ancient iſlanders: particular intereſt, as paſſions impelled, armed them againſt each other, when they had no other enemies to fear.

Converſion of the Saxons.

This reign is rendered particularly famous by the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity

anity in the kingdom. The Britons had long ſince embraced it, which was a motive of itſelf ſufficient to keep alive the enmity between them and the Saxons. Theſe barbarians lived in the moſt groſs idolatry. They adored principally Woden, the god of war, from whom they believed their princes were deſcended. The hope of being one day admitted into his palace, as a recompence of their valor, and of drinking there to exceſs in the ſculls of enemies killed by their hands, did not a little contribute to make them brave all dangers. But religion amongſt them not being interwoven with government, nor reduced into a ſyſtem, they found it eaſy to change their faith and worſhip. The example of other Germans, ſuch as the Franks and Burgundians, already obedient to civil policy, and to the Chriſtian faith, ought naturally to diſpoſe them to a contempt of Pagan ſuperſtition. Heaven made a woman the inſtrument of this happy event. England had her Clotilda in the perſon of Bertha, daughter of Cariſbert, king of Paris, whom Ethelbert had eſpouſed, promiſing her the free exerciſe of her religion. This virtuous princeſs

princeſs appeared at Canterbury, the capital of the kingdom of Kent, with all the charms and all the piety of her ſex. Beloved by the king, reſpected by the court and the people, ſhe employed her zeal in a manner ſo inſinuating and efficacious, that pope Gregory the great entertained hopes of ſeeing the nation ſoon converted. He ſent Auguſtine the monk and four * other miſſionaries, who, terrified at firſt with the difficulties of the enterprize, ſtopped in France, and waited for new orders, or new exhortations, from the pontiff. He procured them the aſſiſtance of queen Brunehaut, capable, notwithſtanding her enormous vices, of ſerving the church, at the ſame time that ſhe ruined the ſtate. The miſſionaries arrived in 597.

* According to Hume, forty.

Auguſtine preaches to the Saxons.

Such was the ſtupidity of the Saxons, that Ethelbert, apprehenſive theſe foreign prieſts might make uſe of ſorcery againſt him, received them in the open air, that their enchantments might have leſs force. Auguſtine imparted to him the ſublime truths of the goſpel, and at the firſt audience obtained permiſſion to preach publicly. The auſterity of his life gave weight to his doctrine.

doctrine. The barbarians ſaw ſomething ſupernatural in a conduct ſo oppoſite to their paſſions. The king cauſed himſelf to be baptized, a great part of his ſubjects followed his example; and the apoſtle ſhewed himſelf worthy of that name, by teaching him, that preſuaſion only, and not violence, ought to lead men to the boſom of the church. This maxim was always the leaſt followed in the ages of ignorance. Gregory, the declared enemy of polite learning, and who earneſtly deſired to deſtroy the maſter-pieces of profane antiquity, appeared leſs moderate than Auguſtine; he wrote to Ethelbert, to exhort him to the entire ruin of idolatry. Notwithſtanding the ardor of his zeal, the pope ordered the miſſionary not to deſtroy the altars of idols, but to conſecrate them to the true God, becauſe the people, accuſtomed to thoſe altars, would the more willingly frequent the churches. He adviſed him even to ſelect from the different religious uſages amongſt Chriſtians, thoſe which appeared to him moſt favorable to the deſign of converting the Saxons, without any preference to thoſe of the church

Conduct of pope Gregory.

church of Rome. "For we ought not, ſaid he, to love the things becauſe of the places, but the places becauſe of the good things there practiſed." Hiſtory has perſerved very minutely ſeveral queſtions on which Auguſtine conſulted him, and his replies. Some of them are ſtrongly marked with that vain ſophiſtry in which morality has ſince been involved. The dialogues of Gregory prove how much falſe taſte, and the love of the marvellous, even then prepared the human mind for illuſion. This pope, otherwiſe ſo reſpectable, raiſed Auguſtine to the ſee of Canterbury, recommended to him not to pride himſelf too much on the gift of miracles, and informed him that he had no juriſdiction over the Gallican biſhops, whom the miſſionary apparently believed to be ſubordinate to him; ſo difficult is it for ſaints, as well as other men, to defend themſelves from the deluſions of ſelf-love.

The Saxons, become Chriſtians, began to enter into connexions with the people on the continent, and took from thence a tincture of civil life. Ethelbert gave them the firſt body of written laws that they had ever known. This was,

was, after religion, the beſt means of rendering them happy. He died in 616. His ſon Eadbald, blinded by an inceſtuous paſſion, freed himſelf from conſtraint by renouncing Chriſtianity. The whole nation followed his example. Nothing is more eaſy than to induce men without principles to a change of religion. Laurentius, the ſucceſſor of Auguſtine, preſented himſelf one day to the king, ſhewed him his body all diſcolored with blows, and aſſured him St. Peter had puniſhed him in that manner for having intended to leave the kingdom. Eadbald, either perſuaded of the miracle, or diſguſted with his crime, renounced his idols; with him his ſubjects again embraced the Chriſtian faith. A people who can paſs in a moment from Chriſtianity to idolatry, and reſume the former with the ſame precipitation, are certainly very imperfectly acquainted with true religion. When it has effectually convinced the underſtanding, it ſeldom fails to govern the heart. Change of religion.

We find nothing remarkable in the ſucceeding reign. The royal family was extinct in 794. Factions and perpetual tumults ſucceeded, till Egbert,

bert, king of Weſſex, re-united on his head the ſeven crowns of the Heptarchy.

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## Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THIS kingdom, which comprehended all the northern provinces of England, was at firſt divided into two parts, independent on each other, Deira and Bernicia. Adelfrid king of the ſecond poſſeſſed himſelf of the firſt. This conqueſt rendered him as powerful in the Heptarchy, as he was formidable to the Picts and Scots his neighbors. The Britons notwithſtanding had the courage to attack him near Cheſter. A body of twelve hundred and fifty monks of the monaſtery of Bangor accompanied their army, not to combat, but to animate the combatants. Adelfrid having perceived them, at ſome diſtance from the field of battle, ſurprized at ſo new a ſpectacle, demanded who they were. He was told theſe monks were come to pray againſt him. "They are then our enemies, ſaid he, as much as thoſe who

Monks of Bangor.

who come to attack us." He ſent immediately a detachment, which cut in pieces the monkiſh body. Terror ſeized the Britons; Adelfrid put them to flight, took Cheſter, and demoliſhed that immenſe monaſtery of Bangor, where more than two thouſand monks lived, as Bede reports, on the labor of their hands, according to the ancient and reſpectable cuſtom of anchorets.

Young Edwin, whom Adelfrid had deprived of his crown, found an aſylum in the court of Redwald king of Eaſt-Anglia. The uſurper employed promiſes and threats to engage the latter to deliver him from a dangerous adverſary. Redwald at firſt refuſed; but appeared at laſt diſpoſed to violate from intereſt the rights of hoſpitality. Edwin perceived this, but death did not terrify him. He continued without fear in a court where he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by ſnares. His generous confidence touched the queen of Eaſt-Anglia, who revived in the heart of her huſband the ſentiments of friendſhip and honor. When Redwald had changed his reſolution, he marched ſuddenly againſt Adelfrid, attacked, defeated him, and, this prince having been killed Edwin.

killed in battle, gave his crown to Edwin. The new king of Northumberland rendered himſelf eſtimable by a ſtrict love of juſtice. His ſubjects, whoſe ancient licentiouſneſs he reſtrained, were only the more attached to him.

An officer ſaves the king's life by ſacrificing his own.

An aſſaſſin, ſent by the king of Weſſex his enemy, ruſhing on him, a poniard in his hand, to ſtab him, a faithful officer named Lilla threw himſelf between them, received the blow, and died with the glory of having ſaved this great king. The virtuous Edwin refuſed the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia after tne death of Redwald his benefactor, whom rebels had aſſaſſinated. He obliged them to acknowledge the lawful heir, who reigned under his protection.

Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, wife of the king of Northumberland, imitating the zeal and piety of Bertha her mother, labored efficaciouſly to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity in this ſtate. Her exhortations ſtaggered Edwin; but, too wiſe to determine without examination, he long weighed the reaſons on both ſides. Paulinus, a biſhop who had followed the queen, at length convinced him of the errors

of idolatry. The high prieſt of the idols, named Coiſy, prepared the way by his own converſion. As a proof that the Gods he had worſhiped were falſe ones, he made the king obſerve, that, in ſpite of his aſſiduity and fervor in the pontifical functions, he had never received any extraordinary benefit at their hands, and that nobody had had a leſs ſhare than himſelf in the favors of the court. "Would real gods, ſaid he, take ſo little care of their moſt ſincere adorers?" Such arguments were without doubt demonſtration to theſe barbarians. The king, the people, opened their eyes to the truth. Paulinus was the firſt archbiſhop of York. After the death of Edwin, he quitted the kingdom with Ethelburga, becauſe another prince had without reſiſtance re-eſtabliſhed Paganiſm, which was again deſtroyed as eaſily by his ſucceſſor Oſwald about the year 634. The kingdom, agitated by domeſtick commotions, under reigns little memorable, fell at length into an entire anarchy, of which Egbert, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, took advantage.

## Kingdom of EAST-ANGLIA.

THE Engliſh eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt gave their name to Eaſt-Anglia, which comprehended the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. All that we have to remark in this article is, that Earpwold, ſucceſſor of Redwald, embraced Chriſtianity to pleaſe Edwin, to whom he owed his crown; and that after the death of his benefactor he abjured this holy religion, to pleaſe a wife who was an idolatreſs. So many examples of the ſame nature make us ſuppoſe that theſe Chriſtians, ill inſtructed, were only Chriſtians in name; and that the ignorant miſſionaries of thoſe times made converſions as imperfect as they were eaſy. A long liſt of obſcure princes, expelled, murdered, or deſpiſed, fill the annals of this kingdom. Of what importance is it to enumerate barbarians who furniſh nothing to hiſtory? The laſt of theſe kings was aſſaſſinated by Offa king of Mercia, in 792; and the Eaſt-Angles ſubmitted to the dominion of the aſſaſſin.

Kingdom

## Kingdom of MERCIA.

ALL the interior counties of England compoſed this kingdom, the moſt extenſive of the Heptarchy. Penda, one of its kings, is only known as a ſanguinary tyrant. All the neighboring ſtates experienced his violence and injuſtice. Three princes of Eaſt-Anglia were killed fighting againſt him. Edwin and Oſwald, the two greateſt kings of Northumberland, met the ſame fate. He periſhed at laſt in battle in his turn. The wife of his ſucceſſor was, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, the apoſtle of Mercia. The Chriſtian religion was eſtabliſhed there by her cares. We have ſeen two other princeſſes acquire the ſame glory. Offa, the moſt celebrated of the Mercian kings, mounted the throne in 755. His victories over the kings of Kent and of Weſſex acquired him leſs honor than the murder of Ethelbert, king of Eaſt-Anglia, diſgrace. This young prince, drawn by the preſſing invitations of the perfidious king, was come to his court to eſpouſe his daughter.

Penda tyrant.

Offa had the cruelty to put him to death in the midſt of feſtivity, and immediately ſeized his kingdom. Whether he was really torn with remorſe for his crimes, or that he wiſhed only to exculpate himſelf to the eyes of the people, he enriched the cathedral of Hereford, gave the tenth of his poſſeſſions to the church, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received abſolution from the hands of the pope. He eſtabliſhed the famous tax of a penny on every perſon, for the maintenance of an Engliſh college at Rome. It was this tax, called St. Peter's pence, which they raiſed through all England after the re-union of the ſeven kingdoms, and which the popes demanded as a tribute. A magnificent monaſtery, founded at Verulam, compleated Offa's purpoſe of effacing his crimes in the ſight of the multitude. The beſt hiſtorian of that age of barbariſm is in doubt whether to rank him amongſt the good or bad princes. Splendid foundations and exterior practices are often more celebrated than true virtues.

St. Peter's pence.

This prince died in 794. His connexions with Charlemagne, to whom he

he ſent the learned monk Alcuin, do honor to his memory. The other kings of Mercia do not merit a place in hiſtory.

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## Kingdoms of Essex and Sussex.

THESE two kingdoms were the ſmalleſt of the Heptarchy. That of Eſſex, or the Eaſt-Saxons, was only ſeventy-five miles long, and thirty-eight broad. London and Colcheſter were comprized in it. That of Suſſex, or the South-Saxons, contained only the counties of Suſſex and Surry. The annals of both are extremely barren.

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## Kingdom of Wessex.

THE name of this kingdom ſpeaks the people who founded it, and its ſituation, to the weſt of the other Saxons, of Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex. Continual wars preſerved here, in more vigor than elſewhere, the military genius of the Germanic nations. Ceaulin, the third king, took from the Britons Ceaulin.

the counties of Devon and Somerſet. He aimed at extending his conqueſts even within the Heptarchy. The princes united againſt him, and defeated him. Odious to his own ſubjects, he was driven from his kingdom, and died miſerable in exile. One of his ſucceſſors, called Ina, deſerves to be diſtinguiſhed amongſt the croud of barbarous princes. He gave an example of civil as well as of martial virtues. Having conquered the Britons, inſtead of exterminating them, as was the cuſtom, he treated them humanely, left them in poſſeſſion of their lands, united them to his own ſubjects by marriages, and by the influence of the laws. After a glorious reign of thirty-ſeven years, he went in pilgrimage to Rome, and ſhut himſelf up in a cloiſter at his return: a common act of devotion at that time, which deprived ſociety of ſeveral princes born for its happineſs. We will paſs over ſome obſcure reigns, to that of the celebrated Egbert, deſtined to re-unite all the Heptarchy in one kingdom.

Ina.

The order of ſucceſſion being very ill obſerved, though the kings were always of the royal family, Brithrick,

who mounted the throne in 784, ſeemed to have leſs right to it than prince Egbert, diſtinguiſhed equally by his birth and merit. This young prince, expoſed to the jealouſy of the king, fled ſecretly, and found a happy aſylum in the court of Charlemagne. He not only learnt the art of war under the command of this hero, but formed himſelf to the manners of the French, whom the beſt of the ancient Engliſh hiſtorians, Malmeſbury, paints as the braveſt, and moſt poliſhed of the weſtern nations. This was an advantageous ſchool for a Saxon. His manners were ſoftened, his natural endowments perfected, and he had reaſon to congratulate himſelf on thoſe misfortunes which had exiled him for a time from his country. An unforeſeen event recalled him thither, to enjoy the moſt exalted fortune. The queen of Weſſex, without humanity, and without modeſty, ſacrificed every thing to her paſſions. A young lord, who had the king's confidence, excited her jealous hatred. She attempted to poiſon him. Brithrick, having drunk before him of the poiſoned cup, died ſoon after. The nobles of the kingdom invited Egbert

to accept the crown. He began his reign by victories over the Britons of Cornwall.

Egbert deſtroys the Heptarchy.

A vaſt career opened itſelf before him. All the royal houſes of the Heptarchy, excépt that of Weſſex, were intirely extinct; either, becauſe, the ſucceſſion being fixed by no eſtabliſhed rules, ambitious princes deſtroyed each other; or from the effects of that devotion which led many of them into cloiſters, and induced others to obſerve continency in marriage. Of ſo many Saxon princes, deſcended, according to their fabulous annals, from the God Woden, there remained only Egbert, whoſe birth, ſupported by ſo many ſuperior qualities, ought neceſſarily to extend his dominion. The king of Mercia, then extremely powerful, took arms againſt him, and was defeated. The conqueror ſubdued without difficulty the kingdoms of Kent, of Eſſex, and Eaſt-Anglia, all tributary to the Mercians. Two new battles, where two kings of Mercia periſhed, rendered him maſter of their dominions. Following the courſe of his fortune, he marched towards Northumberland; and the Northumbrians, weary of a miſerable

miſerable anarchy, came of themſelves to render him homage. He left them, as he had done in Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia, a tributary king, over whom he reſerved to himſelf a ſuperior authority. Thus the Heptarchy formed only one great kingdom, which took its name of England from one of the Saxon nations eſtabliſhed in this country about four hundred years before.

Though nothing is more proper than true religion to inſpire humanity and all the ſocial virtues, yet the Anglo-Saxons, ſince they had enjoyed the happineſs of being Chriſtians, had loſt ſcarce any thing of their ferocity, or of their vices. This phenomenon is eaſily explained, by conſidering the ignorance and ſuperſtition which effaced in ſome meaſure the principles of Chriſtianity. The ſuperſtitious worſhip of ſaints and relicks cauſed that of God to be neglected; the practices of a capricious devotion ſupplied the place of the virtues inculcated in the goſpel; credulity received blindly all the fables, all the chimeras, forged by folly, or by impoſture. They ſaw, they related, nothing but miracles; groſs minds, ſtruck only by the marvellous, deſpiſed truth,

were without a ſenſe of moral duties, and took a ſhade of religion, for religion itſelf. Crimes were expiated by laviſhing gifts on the monks and on the churches. The great believed they acquired ſanctity by putting on the monaſtic habit. Bede informs us, that ſeveral of them eſtabliſhed rich convents, to live there in repoſe, and in pleaſures, joining the title of abbots to that of officers of the king, or of the governors of provinces. Ten kings, and eleven queens, who retired into cloiſters, without ſpeaking of thoſe who abandoned the cares of government to undertake pilgrimages to Rome, do not prove that they had very clear ideas of true virtue.

Quarrel on the tonſure, &c.

From the ſame ſources of ignorance were born the theological quarrels with which the Saxon church was agitated during more than an age. They diſputed on what day the feaſt of Eaſter ought to fall, and on the proper form of the clerical tonſure. On the firſt article the Saxons inſtructed by Italian monks ſupported the uſage of the Romiſh, the Britons and the Scots that of the Greek, church. On the other, the Saxons inſiſted that the tonſure ſhould

ſhould be round, becauſe it repreſented, according to them, the crown of thorns worn by Jeſus Chriſt; they inſiſted that the tonſure of their adverſaries, lengthened from one ear to another, was an invention of Simon Magus.

The controverſy was as much the more warm, as the two parties were deficient in judgement and knowledge. They hated each other as ſchiſmatics, and there wanted no more to excite a ſchiſm amongſt them. The Romiſh cauſe triumphed. The Saxon church was obedient to the popes, whoſe juriſdiction was a long time unacknowledged by the Britons and the Scots, who decided all eccleſiaſtical affairs in their ſynods. Wilfrid, archbiſhop of York, having appealed to Rome from a ſentence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, pope Agatho determined in his favor in 679; and the holy ſee exerciſed from that time a more extenſive authority over England. Eccleſiaſtical immunities were every day more firmly eſtabliſhed. A ſynod held in 697, ordained that the church ſhould be free, and enjoy peaceably its privileges; that whoever diſturbed its quiet ſhould be obliged to pay a fine of fifty ſhillings,

and that the clergy ſhould only be judged by eccleſiaſtics.

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## ENGLAND under the ANGLO-SAXON KINGS.

A.D. 827. The Saxon pagans join the Danes.

UNDER a king powerful, warlike, politic, ſole heir of the ancient founders of the Heptarchy, England became formidable to its neighbors, and ſeemed to have reaſon to expect a profound and laſting peace, ſafe from the incurſions of ſtrangers. But the north of Europe produced numerous armies of barbarians, who, in a leſs rigorous climate, ſought eſtabliſhments or ſpoil. Charlemagne, bringing his humanity into doubt by an exceſs of zeal, had employed violence to convert the Saxon idolaters of Germany. In the ſame degree that thoſe of England had ſhewed readineſs to embrace a religion to which they were allured by the example and inſinuations of their princes, were the others irritated againſt it by the ſeverity of this emperor. The braveſt and moſt determined of the pagans retired into Jutland, where the Danes,

Danes, alſo a ferocious people, received them as brothers, adopting with ardor their projects of vengeance, and of conqueſt. Theſe barbarians, known under the names of Normans, which ſignifies, *Men of the North*, became ſoon celebrated by their ravages and invaſions. After having over-run France, they fell upon England in the year 787, whilſt the Heptarchy ſtill, though imperfectly, ſubſiſted. Their incurſions were renewed under Egbert, in 832. A great battle which they loſt did not diſcourage them. They made an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall, and penetrated into the county of Devon. Egbert again vanquiſhed them. But he died too ſoon for his people, leaving the crown to a ſon little capable of ſupporting its weight.

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## ETHELWOLF.

ETHELWOLF, the ſucceſſor of Egbert, had rather the virtues of a monk, than thoſe of a king. Like the unworthy ſucceſſor of Charlemagne, Lewis the Debonair, he diſmembered A.D. 838. Ravages of the Danes.

the monarchy in favor of Athelſtan his eldeſt ſon, to whom he gave the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex. The Danes did not fail to take advantage of this weakneſs. Though defeated by the Engliſh generals, they ſpread deſolation through the kingdom. Their veſſels, being ſmall, were navigable on the rivers. They drew them on ſhore, threw up an entrenchment round them, ſpread themſelves over the country, and ſeizing on men, cattle, and whatever they found, haſtened to embark with their ſpoil. Driven from one part, they threw themſelves on another. Inquietude and terror became general. None thought themſelves in ſafety. Every ſeaſon theſe dangers were renewed. Theſe robbers, animated as much by hatred to Chriſtianity as by an inſatiable avarice, ſpared neither the churches, nor the prieſts and monks, on whom they principally diſcharged their fury. Though they found reſiſtance from a warlike nation, defeats as well as ſucceſſes excited them to greater enterprizes. A fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail having brought them powerful ſuccours, they parted from the iſle of Thanet, burnt London and

and Canterbury, and penetrated even into Surry. Ethelwolf at length marched againſt them in perſon and defeated them, without being able to put a ſtop for any long time to their ruinous incurſions. In the midſt of theſe continual dangers, his devotion, prevailing over the neceſſities of the ſtate, conducted him to Rome. He continued there a year, employed in pious exerciſes, more proper to edify the Romans than to relieve the Engliſh. He was ſo magnificently liberal towards the holy ſee as to oblige himſelf to pay thirty marks of ſilver a year, according to Rapin's valuation, of which two thirds were deſtined to defray the expence of lighting the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the third to the uſe of the pope himſelf. On his return, he contracted a ſecond marriage with the daughter of Charles the bald. His abſence had occaſioned terrible confuſions. After the death of Athelſtan, Ethelbald his ſecond ſon had reſolved to ſeize the crown, which a weak father ſeemed to deliver to the ambition of uſurpers. A conſiderable party entered into his views. All the horrors of a civil war were expected. The king

king avoided it by giving up the greateſt part of his dominions to this rebel ſon, who deſerved only chaſtiſement.

A. D. 855. Eſtabliſhment of tithes.

Ethelwolf procured for the clergy an advantage they had many ages wiſhed to obtain. The tithes eſtabliſhed under the old law, for the ſubſiſtance of the Levites, to whom they allotted no lands, were generally regarded by the eccleſiaſtics as an indiſpenſable obligation under the new. It muſt be confeſſed, the law of Moſes does not appear on this point a very clear title. Some even pretended that this claim ought to extend to induſtry, merchandizes, the wages of laborers, &c. They preached this duty warmly; but the intereſt of the laity had always been ſtronger than that of the clergy. Ethelwolf at length granted them all they deſired, and the ſtates of the kingdom conſented to the eſtabliſhment of tithes. The Engliſh, expoſed to the fury of ravagers, hoped without doubt to merit the protection of heaven by this liberality. The poſſeſſions of the church were alſo declared exempt from all impoſitions. This is the epocha of the opulence of the clergy in England.

The

The king died two years after. He had divided his kingdom between his two ſons Ethelbald and Ethelbert, whoſe reigns were ſhort, and continually diſturbed by Daniſh incurſions. Ethelred their brother mounted the throne. His valor was ſignalized ſeveral times againſt theſe pirates. The Eaſt-Anglians, having made a ſeparate treaty with them, experienced how dangerous it is to deſert the common cauſe. The Danes ravaged Northumberland and Mercia, and fell at length on Eaſt-Anglia, where they ſpared not even the tributary king, Edmund, who was murdered in cold blood. One day whilſt Ethelred was hearing maſs, they came to inform him his brother Alfred, a prince of great hopes, was ſurrounded by the barbarians. He refuſed to go to his aſſiſtance till the maſs was ended; the victory which he gained was attributed to his piety, which would have been called imprudence if he had been defeated. He was wounded in another action, and died. Alfred his ſucceſſor, the fifth ſon of Ethelwolf, was born to ſupport the tottering throne, and to make the nation happy.

A.D. 857. Succeſſors of Ethelwolf.

ALFRED.

## ALFRED.

THOUGH the late king had left children, yet the public voice, the melancholy ſtate of the kingdom, and perhaps alſo the will of Ethelwolf, who paſſionately loved Alfred, occaſioned the preference to be given to this prince, then twenty-two years of age. It is ſaid, that in a journey to Rome, whither his father had ſent him, he received the royal unction from the hands of Leo the fourth, a circumſtance for which it is difficult to account. Paternal tenderneſs having ſo totally neglected his education, that, at the age of twelve, he had not received the leaſt tincture of learning, his genius broke forth of itſelf whilſt attending to the recital of the Saxon poems, but ill-adapted to form his mind. The ſtudy of Latin afterwards opened to him more uſeful, and more abundant ſources of knowledge. A lively taſte for works proper to inſpire wiſdom and heroic ſentiments, promiſed what he would one day be. He would have preferred the peaceful cultivation of literature, to the ſupreme rank, where cares attend

attend on greatneſs. But the invaſions of the Danes obliged him ſoon to ſacrifice his nobler pleaſures. It is a misfortune almoſt inſeparable from humanity, that war becomes the duty of great princes.

The Danes were at firſt defeated, and engaged themſelves by a treaty to enter the kingdom no more. Men without laws deſpiſe oaths. They ſoon renewed their depredations; and the king of Mercia, brother-in-law to Alfred, unable to make head againſt them, profeſſed himſelf a monk at Rome. The title of king of Mercia was extinct. New ſwarms of barbarians arrived under three princes. Alfred obliged them to a treaty ſimilar to the firſt. Though he made them ſwear on the relicks of the ſaints (believing without doubt that if they violated their word heaven would puniſh them in the more exemplary manner), their vows were not better kept. He marched againſt his perjured enemies, gave them battle eight times in one year, reduced them to the laſt extremities, and at length allowed them to fix in ſome part of England, on condition they defended the entrance of it againſt other ravagers. A. D. 875.

This

This was the only means to preſerve the provinces from this deſtructive ſcourge. The treaty ſeemed advantageous to the Danes. They returned however ſoon to the charge, reinforced by a great number of their rapacious countrymen.

Alfred abandoned.

The Engliſh now loſt courage; ſeeing no reſources againſt ſo many evils, ſome abandoned their country, others ſubmitted to ſlavery. The king ſaw himſelf without troops, without hope. He was conſtrained to diſmiſs his ſervants, to aſſume the habit of a peaſant, and to live ſeveral months, unknown, at the houſe of a ſhepherd, whoſe wife, by expecting of him little domeſtic ſervices, ſometimes put his patience to the proof. He drew together a number of his friends, and retired into an inacceſſible marſh in the county of Somerſet, where he built a kind of fort. He lived there on plunder, falling on the barbarians when they leaſt expected him, without their being able to diſcover from whence this ſo formidable enemy came.

Some unexpected intelligence drew the hero from his retreat. He learned that an Engliſh lord had defeated the Danes, and

and had even taken from them their enchanted ſtandard, to which they attributed a miraculous virtue. At the firſt dawn of hope he left his retreat; he no longer doubted of ſucceſs. To ſecure himſelf by all prudent precautions, he determined to take a view of the enemy himſelf; he intrepidly entered their camp in the diſguiſe of a harper; he amuſed, he pleaſed them: he remained ſome days in the tent of their prince, obſerved their negligence, their blind ſecurity, and returned back reſolved to attack, and almoſt certain of defeating, them. He ſent ſecretly to inform his principal ſubjects of his return; he appointed them a place of meeting. They had believed him dead. Their hopes revived. The yoke of the Danes appeared already more dreadful than all the dangers of the war. His valiant ſoldiers flew at the ſummons of an adored monarch. He conducted them inſtantly againſt the enemy, ſurprized them, put them to flight, and beſieged them in a ſtrong town where they had taken refuge. The Danes, periſhing with hunger, offered to ſubmit. Alfred here excited as much admiration by his clemency as by his courage.

As

As Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland were depopulated, he propoſed to them to eſtabliſh themſelves there, hoping with reaſon that agriculture would give them a diſguſt for pillage, and that, if once attached to their habitations and poſſeſſions, they would oppoſe the enterprizes of other ravagers. The conditions were joyfully accepted. As a pledge of their fidelity, he inſiſted on their embracing Chriſtianity. They became Chriſtians when it was their intereſt to be ſo. The event proved the wiſdom of the conqueror, and the kingdom was ſome years tranquil.

A.D. 880.

Eſtabliſhments for the ſafety of the kingdom.

Alfred made uſe of this happy tranquillity, to remedy the public ills, and to ſecure the nation from new misfortunes. A wiſe policy ſuggeſted to him the means to unite the new inhabitants with his ancient ſubjects. This was, to eſtabliſh equality amongſt them; the ſame laws, the ſame rules of juſtice. The murder of a Dane was puniſhed in the ſame manner as that of an Engliſhman. This puniſhment was only a fine, according to the cuſtom of barbarians, too little enlightened to know, that to puniſh crimes with too little rigor is to encourage them. The cities

ties which had been deſtroyed were rebuilt, London eſpecially, which became the capital of the kingdom. A regular and formidable militia was deſtined to the defence of the country. All who were able to carry arms ſerved. Some guarded poſts aſſigned them, others formed armies; the reſt, employed in the culture of the lands, replaced the firſt when their time of ſervice was at an end. Thus on whatever ſide, or at whatever time, the enemy appeared, a force was always ready to reſiſt them. But of all theſe eſtabliſhments the moſt uſeful was that of the marine. The Engliſh had intirely neglected a reſource ſo eaſy by their ſituation, ſo important by the advantages they might reap from it. An hundred and thirty veſſels ſtationed on the coaſt, ſecured them from thoſe little piratical fleets from which they had before ſeen the Danes diſembark without any obſtacle. Alfred trained his people to navigation, and invited foreign ſailors, whoſe aſſiſtance he found yet neceſſary. Could it have been believed that this art, then almoſt unknown to the Engliſh, ſhould be one day the foundation of their greatneſs? Marine.

Theſe

A.D. 893. New enterprizes of the Danes. Haſtings.

Theſe wiſe meaſures preſerved the kingdom from all conſiderable danger, till the celebrated Haſtings, a Daniſh pirate, who had ravaged a great part of France, turned his fury againſt England, which he attacked with three hundred and thirty veſſels. The king collected his troops, haſtened to meet the enemy, and diſperſed them. But the Danes of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, not having yet loſt their ferocious inclinations, excited to ſpoil by the example of the new comers, threw off the yoke, and carried terror even to Exeter on the ſide of the weſt, whilſt Haſtings menaced London and the eaſtern provinces. This terrible ſtorm augmented Alfred's glory. The rebels were defeated and put to flight, and the army of Haſtings cut in pieces; his wife and his two ſons remained priſoners. The conqueror generouſly releaſed them, on condition he ſhould leave the kingdom. After his departure, Alfred had ſtill numerous troops of theſe robbers to combat. By his prudence and valor he triumphed over them. He ordered the priſoners that were taken to be hanged up, as enemies to the human race; a well-timed ex-

ample of ſeverity, which produced its effect. Thoſe of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland ſubmitted. Wales, till then independent, acknowledged his authority; and nothing further hindered this hero from laboring, in the boſom of peace, for the happineſs of the nation.

Inſtitutions of Alfred.

The laſt depredations had reduced it to the moſt terrible extremities; diſtreſs multiplied crimes. The poor found reſources in robbery and violence. The ſtricteſt execution of juſtice could alone re-eſtabliſh order. This was the greateſt ſervice Alfred could do his people, and he applied himſelf to it without ceaſing. To accompliſh a deſign as difficult as it was important, he divided England into counties, every county into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings. From hence aroſe order and civil government. Every maſter of a family was reſponſible for the conduct of his children, of his ſlaves, and even of his gueſts. Every tithing was alſo accountable for the conduct of all who compoſed it. Every hundred for that of all its tithings: and whoever did not enter into one of theſe little communities was puniſhed as an outlaw. No man

Diviſions of the kingdom into counties.

man could change his place of abode without a certificate from the chief under whom he had lived. By this admirable inſtitution, which the circumſtances of the times rendered neceſſary, every citizen was obliged to keep a ſtrict eye over the actions of his neighbors, and crimes could neither eſcape being diſcovered or puniſhed. In caſes of appeal, or important cauſes, the hundreds were aſſembled; twelve freeholders were choſen to render juſtice; and, after taking an oath, they examined the crime of the accuſed. This is the origin of juries, which in all capital affairs are ſummoned in England to enquire into crimes, and whoſe report almoſt always decides the ſentence. An excellent cuſtom, which the Engliſh with reaſon regard as one of the ſtrongeſt ramparts of liberty and juſtice. The members of every county aſſembled twice a year, and determined the affairs of its juriſdiction. The biſhop and the alderman (or earl) preſided. The laſt united heretofore the military with the civil authority. Alfred added a ſheriff, to confine his power within juſt bounds. The ſheriff had in charge to levy

Alderman.

Sheriff.

levy the fines, and to maintain the rights of the crown.

Juſtice, laws, reformation.

The king's equity was ſo known, that they appealed to him from an infinite number of ſentences paſſed in the provinces. His indefatigable exactneſs in examniing and deciding ſo many cauſes, deprived him of much invaluable time. He corrected this abuſe, by taking care the judges were well inſtructed, by puniſhing their falſe judgements with a ſalutary rigor, and by depoſing thoſe earls who were unworthy their ſtations. A body of laws, which are unfortunately loſt, but which are regarded as the foundation of the common law of England, fixed and eſtabliſhed juſtice. Alfred probably only brought to perfection the ancient laws and cuſtoms, the traces of which yet ſubſiſt. Nothing is more dangerous than a total change; and this legiſlator was not ignorant that the exceſs, even of good, may become a great evil. He ordained that the ſtates of the kingdom ſhould meet twice a year at London. In one word, robbery and other crimes were baniſhed the kingdom, which they had ſo long diſhonoured. Alfred, it is ſaid, ordered bracelets of gold to be hung

up in the high roads, without any perſon's daring to touch them. The liberty of his people was not leſs dear to him than the adminiſtration of juſtice. In his will are theſe immortal words: *The Engliſh ought to be free as their thoughts.*

Alfred inſtructs the nation.

He knew too well the influence of learning on the morals of mankind, to neglect this important object, of which he felt by experience all the value. Ignorance, the mother of ſuperſtition and vice, reigned univerſally in England. Few perſons in the kingdom were capable of underſtanding divine ſervice; the Danes, when they deſtroyed the convents, had burnt the libraries of the monks. All was barbariſm. Alfred diſperſed this darkneſs. He invited learned men from every part of Europe; he eſtabliſhed ſchools for the inſtruction of youth; he obliged all who poſſeſſed two hides (about four acres) of land to ſend thither their children; he founded, or reſtored, the univerſity of Oxford, one of the moſt celebrated in the world; he raiſed to dignities, in church and ſtate, only men capable of filling them. Learning, now rewarded, became an object of

of emulation. The king's example was of ſufficient force. They ſaw this great prince divide his time into three equal parts, of which one was devoted to ſtudy and the exerciſes of piety, another to affairs of government, the third to bodily reſt and refection. He meaſured the hours by torches of a certain length, which burnt in lanterns; his genius thus ſupplied the place of the knowledge of arts. Time ſo well employed rendered him one of the moſt learned men of his age. He tranſlated into Saxon the Fables of Eſop, the Hiſtory of Bede, and other works. He compoſed himſelf apologues, parables, and poems, which he judged more proper than other writings to win to morality groſs minds incapable of ſpeculation. What a progreſs in a hero overwhelmed with infirmities and buſineſs, and who had been preſent in fifty-ſix battles by ſea and land!

Manner in which he employed his time.

His cares took in every object intereſting to ſociety, mechanical arts, agriculture, navigation, commerce. The Engliſh began to range the ſeas, and to ſeek foreign merchandize even in the Indies. He reſerved the ſeventh part of the crown revenues, to maintain a

Arts, Commerce.

number of artificers, who labored inceſſantly in rebuilding the cities, caſtles, palaces, and churches. In conſtructing theſe they employed ſtone and brick, which were almoſt unknown before. The nobility imitated the king's example, and laſting edifices ſoon multiplied all over the kingdom.

Alfred died, in 901, aged fifty-two years. So many admirable things executed in ſo ſhort a time, are above all praiſe. Never king better deſerved the name of *Great*. He ſeems, as Mr. Hume obſerves, to be the perfect model of that ſage, whom philoſophers have delineated from imagination, without a hope that ſuch a character would one day really exiſt. We regret with this hiſtorian, that his age ſhould have produced no author capable of painting him from the life. We could not fail of reaping inſtruction by obſerving in his character, "*ſome of thoſe ſmall ſpots and blemiſhes from which, as a man, it is impoſſible he ſhould be entirely exempted?*" How perfect is a prince in whom no vices are found, amidſt ſuch a blaze of talents and virtues!

## EDWARD the Elder.

EDWARD, ſurnamed the Elder because there was another king of that name afterwards, was ſon to the great Alfred, equal to his father in military talents, without having his capacity or learning. He ſoon experienced that the wiſeſt government cannot all at once root up inveterate evils; and that time is neceſſary to enable the beſt laws to deſtroy national vices. Ethelwald his couſin german, intending to diſpute the crown, engaged the Danes to revolt. They broke thoſe chains by which the wiſe Alfred had reſtrained their native ferocity. From Northumberland, Eaſt-Anglia, and Mercia, came armies of robbers, who deſolated the kingdom. Edward defeated them in perſon; and the Kentiſh men in his abſence engaged them in a battle, where Ethelwald, with the chiefs of the rebels, periſhed. Delivered from this dangerous enemy, the king was ſcarce more tranquil. All his reign paſſed in expeditions againſt the Danes ſettled in England, or againſt thoſe whom the avidity of ſpoil drew thither

A.D. 901.

Revolts of the Danes.

thither from other countries. He had the glory of ſubduing the firſt, of repelling the ſecond, and of forcing even the Scots, conquerors of the Picts their neighbors, to make him ſubmiſſions. His ſiſter Ethelfleda ſerved him uſefully in theſe enterprizes; a courageous princeſs, who deſpiſed the occupations of her ſex, as unworthy her maſculine genius, and talents for public affairs. Mercia had been till then independent on the crown. Edward reduced it to
A.D. 925. obedience. His death happened in 925.

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## ATHELSTAN.

THE legitimate children of the late king being too young to govern, Athelſtan his natural ſon was called to the throne. Illegitimacy did not then appear a cauſe of excluſion. Some factious perſons however conſpired againſt him, inſtigated by Alfred, a nobleman of conſiderable power. This Alfred having been arreſted, for a crime of which the proofs were not clear, denied the fact, and offered to prove his innocence

innocence by oath, in preſence of the pope. They undoubtedly believed, either that there was no man capable of perjuring himſelf before the holy father, or that ſuch a perjury could not fail of being miraculouſly puniſhed. The proof was accepted, the oath taken; but the criminal fell inſtantly into violent convulſions, of which he died a few days after. Whatever was the cauſe of this tragical event, which may merit a doubt, the king, convinced of Alfred's crime, confiſcated his effects to the uſe of a monaſtery.

The Danes of Northumberland were always diſpoſed to revolt. To keep them within bounds, he gave the title of king to Sithric one of their chiefs, and married him to his ſiſter. This policy promiſed to produce good effects. Unhappily Sithric died within the year. Two ſons, born of his firſt bed, thought they had a right to ſucceed him, without even waiting the king's conſent. Athelſtan drove them into exile. One of them took refuge with Conſtantine, king of Scotland, who refuſed to deliver him to the conqueror. The king paſſed into Scotland with a powerful army; and Conſtantine,

in order to preſerve his crown, was reduced to the hardeſt conditions. The Engliſh hiſtorians pretend that he became a vaſſal of England. Thoſe of Scotland deny this, and their teſtimony on this ſubject ſeems moſt credible. Conſtantine meditated revenge; he joined the Danes in an incurſion into England. This furniſhed only new matter of triumph. Athelſtan was from that time tranquil. Hiſtorians praiſe very highly his abilities and valor. He encouraged commerce, by a law truly uſeful to the nation. Every merchant who had made two long ſea voyages was admitted to the rank of gentleman. The ſame favor was granted to a farmer who poſſeſſed five hydes of land, a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell.

Laws in favor of merchants and huſbandmen.

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## EDMUND.

THE reign of Edmund, brother to the late king, was too ſhort to fulfil the juſt hopes of the nation. With the courage of his predeceſſors he ſubdued the Northumbrian Danes, ſtill actuated by the ſpirit of rebellion. He obliged

obliged them again to embrace Chriſtianity, which this people abandoned or reſumed, as conjunctures directed them. He took Cumberland from the Britons.

A tragical death put an end to his conqueſts. Having perceived one day in the hall where he ſat at dinner a famous robber whom he had condemned to baniſhment, and having in vain commanded him to retire, tranſported with rage he threw himſelf on him, ſeized him by the hair, and graſped him with ſuch force, that the villain in deſpair drew his poniard, and ſtruck him a mortal blow. As the ſons of Edmund were not of an age to govern, his brother, Edred, was acknowledged his ſucceſſor. Tragical death of the king.

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## EDRED.

THIS prince, like his predeceſſors, employed himſelf at firſt in repreſſing the Danes of Northumberland. After having carried fire and ſword into their country, he prevented freſh inſurrections by leaving garriſons amongſt them, and appointing an Eng- A.D. 946.

liſh governor, with inſtructions to keep a ſtrict eye over all their motions. Devotion was Edred's moſt diſtinguiſhing quality; and the famous abbot [*a*] St. Dunſtan, his confeſſor and miniſter, governed the kingdom with abſolute power. This man was one of thoſe bold enterprizing ſpirits, whoſe character even piety cannot change; and who, with right intentions, often diſturb the quiet of kingdoms, by their obſtinate prejudices. Under the laſt reign, Dunſtan, nephew to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſuſpected at court of a licentious life, buried himſelf (from religion, without doubt, though the Proteſtants ſuppoſe from other motives) in a ſmall cell where he could not even extend himſelf to take repoſe. Oſborne, his hiſtorian, relates, that, importuned by the temptations of the devil, he ſeized him one day by

[*a*] "Edred, though not unwarlike, nor unfit for active life, lay under the influence of the loweſt ſuperſtition, and had blindly delivered over his conſcience to the guidance of Dunſtan, commonly called St. Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, whom he advanced to the higheſt offices, and who covered, under the appearance of ſanctity, the moſt violent and moſt inſolent ambition." HUME.

the

the noſe with a pair of red hot pincers, and held him ſo long in that ſituation, that all the neighborhood reſounded with his howlings. This ſtroke may enable us to judge of the ſagacity of a writer otherwiſe eſtimable for the age in which he wrote. They now ſpoke only of the ſanctity of Dunſtan. The devout king gave him all his confidence. He not only ſubmitted to diſcipline from his hand, but he entruſted him with the reins of government, and obeyed him as a maſter. The miniſter's great object was to eſtabliſh the monaſtic reform in England; an event which had memorable conſequences. Till that time the Engliſh monks, without conſtraint, without rules, had uſually lived as ſimple eccleſiaſtics. They were even left at liberty to marry, and the kingdom was full of prieſts and monks, who lived publicly with their wives. The order of St. Benedict, ſpread over the ſouth of Europe, had rendered celibacy much more general. Mr. Hume ſhews himſelf extremely prejudiced againſt the popes, by advancing, [*b*] that this was

Monaſtic reform.

Eccleſiaſtical celibacy.

[*b*] "The Roman pontiff, who was making every day great advances towards an univerſal

the fruit of their policy, and that to hold the monks and clergy in an intire dependance, they impoſed on them an obligation which detached them for ever from the engagements of civil life. More religious motives contributed to extend eccleſiaſtical celibacy. Do the abuſes which have grown from this rule, that eſpecially of multiplying ſo infinitely convents and religious

ſovereignty over eccleſiaſtics, perceived, that the celibacy alone of the clergy could break off intirely their connexion with the civil power, and, depriving them of every other object of ambition, engage them to promote, with unceaſing induſtry, the grandeur of their own order. He was ſenſible, that ſo long as the monks were indulged in marriage, and were allowed families, they never could be ſubjected to a ſtrict rule, or reduced to that ſlavery under their ſuperiors, which was requiſite to procure to the orders, iſſued from Rome, a ready and zealous obedience. Celibacy, therefore began to be extolled, as the indiſpenſable duty of prieſts; and the pope undertook to make all the clergy throughout the weſtern world renounce at once the privilege of marriage: a fortunate policy, but at the ſame time an undertaking the moſt difficult of any, ſince he had the ſtrongeſt propenſities of human nature to encounter, and found, that the ſame connexion with the female ſex, which generally encourages devotion, was here unfavorable to the ſucceſs of his project." HUME.

orders,

orders, prove a real deſign to abuſe it? What we are certain of is, that Dunſtan employed all his credit to introduce this reformation. The new monks attracted the people's veneration by the auſterity of their lives. They declaimed warmly againſt the ſecular clergy, whoſe morals ſometimes gave occaſion for cenſure. The offended eccleſiaſtics, deſpoiled even of their benefices, which were given to the monks, inveighed ſharply againſt them in their turn. This ſpecies of war agitated the kingdom violently. In an age of ſuperſtition nothing was more proper to excite popular commotions. The king's death changed the face of the government. Edwy, his nephew and ſucceſſor, a youth about ſeventeen years old, having neither his devotion, nor his love for the monks, though endowed with eſtimable qualities, experienced by their means, misfortunes which candor itſelf cannot but attribute to an unjuſt hatred, or an exceſs of falſe zeal.

## EDWY.

THE young king became paſſionately in love with a beautiful princeſs called Elgiva; and according to the moſt probable accounts married her, though his relation in the third or fourth degree. Some hiſtorians treat her as his concubine, apparently becauſe of the illegality of their marriage. The new monks cried out againſt this as an infamous action, and incurred Edwy's diſpleaſure. Dunſtan their protector could not contain his zeal. The very day of his coronation, whilſt his nobles were at table, the king having paſſed into Elgiva's apartment, Dunſtan, and Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, followed him, burſt rudely into the room, tore him from the object of his tenderneſs, and treated the princeſs with outrage. In revenge, Edwy demanded an account of Dunſtan's adminiſtration of the finances in the late reign. On his refuſal to give it, he was declared guilty, and baniſhed the kingdom. His partizans oppoſed the royal authority.

Violence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A party

A party of ſoldiers, ſent by archbiſhop Odo, forced the palace, ſeized Elgiva, diſfigured her face with a hot iron, and carried her into Ireland. Some time after, this unfortunate princeſs, cured of her wounds, repaſſed into England. But Odo did not loſe ſight of her. He had her arreſted, and his emiſſaries had the barbarity to hamſtring her; of which wounds ſhe died. Such was, ſays M. Fleury, the power and ſeverity of this prelate. One ought rather to ſay, the audacity and the cruelty.

Revolt againſt the king.

It was eaſy to excite a ſuperſtitious people to revolt againſt a king whoſe conduct was decried, and whoſe averſion to the monks was known. A part of the rebels declared in favor of his brother Edgar, a boy of twelve years of age, and put him in poſſeſſion of ſeveral provinces. Dunſtan, now returned from his exile, joined Edgar, was made biſhop of Worceſter, of London, and archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, notwithſtanding his ſcruples, that he might lawfully unite theſe three benefices. The prelatical reform partook of the ignorance of his

Death of Edwy.

his age. Edwy died in adverſity. Some monks have related, that the devils dragging his ſoul into hell, one of theſe malignant ſpirits brought the news to Dunſtan, in hopes of inſpiring him with a cruel joy; but that the ſaint prayed for the dead with ſo much fervor, that he obtained his ſalvation of God. The ancient hiſtorians are full of ſuch abſurdities.

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## EDGAR.

About A.D. 960. Power of Edgar.

IF the revolt againſt Edwy could have been juſtified, the merits of Edgar would have ſerved as an excuſe to the rebels. A friend to peace, he knew how to preſerve it by preparing for war. Diſciplined troops which watched the motions of the Danes and Scots, a formidable fleet which made from time to time the tour of the kingdom, wiſe meaſures ſupported with vigor, kept his ſubjects in obedience, and his enemies in fear.

He favors the monks.

It was chiefly however by favoring the monks, that Edgar ſecured the tranquillity of his reign. Whether from motives of

of inclination, gratitude, or policy, Dunſtan, and two other biſhops, his creatures, were conſulted on the moſt important affairs; the new monks were ſoon put in poſſeſſion of the monaſteries, and the ſecular canons driven out with infamy: more than forty churches were filled with theſe edifying guides, who had not leſs zeal for the intereſt of their order, than heat in decrying the vices of others. There is handed down to us a long diſcourſe of the king to the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, which he convoked on this affair. The prieſts are there painted under very odious colors. Amongſt ſo many ſerious accuſations, there is one which ſpeaks ſtrongly the ſpirit of the age; 'tis that their tonſure was too ſmall. Privileges, exemptions, the right of naming to abbies, were new favors laviſhed on the monks. The encomiums of which they have been ſo prodigal in regard to this prince, are from hence become ſuſpected in the eyes of critics.

Amours of Edgar.

It appears above all ſtrange, that they have labored to make him paſs for a ſaint, in ſpite of the diſſoluteneſs of his manners. He carried off a nun by

by force. Dunſtan reproached him with this crime, but ordered him no other penance than not to wear his crown during ſeven years. Edwy, leſs culpable, had been dethroned. One of Edgar's miſtreſſes, named Elfleda, enjoyed the higheſt degree of favor, even till his marriage with Elfrida; an event too ſingular to be paſſed over in ſilence. Elfrida was the daughter and preſumptive heireſs of the earl of Devonſhire, one of the greateſt lords of the kingdom. Though ſhe had never appeared at court, the report of her beauty had rendered her celebrated there. Edgar had ſerious thoughts of eſpouſing her; but, willing to hazard nothing, he commanded his favorite, Athelwold, to find a pretence to viſit her father, and judge if her beauty anſwered the public report. A violent paſſion ſtifled the ſentiments of duty. The charms of Elfrida made ſo lively an impreſſion on Athelwold, that he determined to gain her from his maſter. He returned, repreſented her as a woman without beauty; and, by an unfaithful deſcription, diſguſted the prince; but took an occaſion afterwards of dextrouſly inſinuating that this

this match, though unworthy a king, would be advantageous to the fortune of a ſubject; and that a rich inheritance would render him leſs delicate on the diſagreeableneſs of her perſon. Edgar conſented willingly to this project of his favorite. The marriage was concluded; the new huſband took great care to keep his wife concealed in the country; but fame, or the envy of the courtiers, ſoon brought his perfidy to light. The king, diſſembling his anger, told Athelwold he intended to viſit him at his caſtle, and to be introduced to an acquaintance with his wife. The favorite, haſtening before under pretence of making ſome neceſſary preparations, revealed the whole ſecret to Elfrida, and conjured her to employ all her ſkill and addreſs to appear ſuch as he had deſcribed her. This was to aſk an effort of all others the moſt heroic. Elfrida, animated with the deſire of pleaſing, and perhaps of revenging herſelf, did not fail to diſplay all the graces of her mind and perſon to the utmoſt advantage. Love, fury, ſeized the king. He engaged Athelwold in a hunting match, ſtabbed

ſtabbed him with his own hand, and ſoon after married Elfrida.

One can ſcarce reconcile theſe actions with the Chriſtian virtues which the monks have aſcribed to Edgar. To enrich churches and monaſteries, was then regarded as a virtue ſuperior to all others. The ages of ſuperſtition were never thoſe of pure morals. But the political qualities of this prince render his memory truly precious. By his care, wolves were exterminated in England. The hunters purſued them with ſo much ſucceſs, that they took refuge in the foreſts and mountains of Wales. The king then changed the tribute paid him by the Welſh, into an obligation of preſenting him every year three hundred heads of wolves. In a ſhort time there was not one left in the kingdom. Edgar was only thirty-three years old when he died, leaving the young Edward, his ſon by the firſt bed, his ſucceſſor.

Wolves exterminated in England.

## EDWARD the Martyr.

THE ambitious queen Elfrida ſpared no pains to place on the throne her ſon by the late king. Her influence, and ſome doubts as to the legality of Edgar's firſt marriage, would have prevailed againſt the order of ſucceſſion appointed by his will, if Dunſtan and the monks had not oppoſed her pretenſions. The archbiſhop preſerved the authority he had enjoyed under the preceding reign, and made the ſame uſe of it. His zeal for the eſtabliſhment of the monks met with ſome obſtacles. They were removed by prodigies, real or pretended. Sudden inſpiration of the prelate, a crucifix from whence iſſued a celeſtial voice, a floor which ſunk from below the aſſembly, and left only the beam on which Dunſtan's chair was placed, as if to preſerve him from the common misfortune. Men doubted no longer of the will of heaven, and the moſt obſtinate ſubmitted. A.D. 957. Conſequence of the eſtabliſhment of the monks.

The piety of the young king would appear to have been ill-rewarded, if we

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we were to judge of the order of Providence by the events of this world. One day as he was hunting near the caſtle of his mother-in-law, Elfrida, he took that opportunity to make her a viſit. As he was going away he deſired ſome refreſhment; one of Elfrida's ſervants preſented him a cup, and ſtabbed him whilſt he was drinking. This inhuman ſtepmother built monaſteries to expiate her crime; but her fame was for ever tarniſhed by it. Wherefore has Edward the ſecond been ſurnamed The Martyr? We can find no probable reaſon, if it is not from the received opinion that, like the ancient martyrs, he worked miracles after his death.

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## ETHELRED.

A D. 978. Weakneſs of the king.

THE crime of Elfrida procured the crown to her ſon, Ethelred, the only remains of the blood royal. He was young, without genius, without capacity, without courage; little capable of governing a peaceful ſtate, much leſs of reſiſting a torrent of ferocious

rocious ravagers. The misfortunes of his reign were partly his fault, partly that of the nation, which ſeemed ſuddenly degenerated. The Danes had, during about ſixty years, ceaſed to ſpread deſolation through the kingdom. Invited by conjunctures, after ſome ſlight attacks to aſſure themſelves of the weakneſs of the government, they returned, in 991, with a more conſiderable force. Ethelred, far from defending himſelf, far from exciting the valor of his ſubjects, followed the cowardly advice of a prelate, and delivered himſelf from his enemies by means proper only to irritate their avarice, and redouble their confidence in themſelves. He bought their departure at the price of ten thouſand pounds. They ſoon returned in greater numbers. Sweyn, or Sweno, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway, made a deſcent at their head, and defeated the Engliſh army. London was ſaved by a vigorous defence, but the king notwithſtanding concluded a treaty as ſhameful and as uſeleſs as the preceding. The barbarians received ſixteen thouſand pounds, and retired.

Ethelred purchaſes their departure.

Olave,

Olave, who was afterwards ſainted, religiouſly kept his engagements.

Return of the Danes.

The peace did not continue long. Depredations were renewed on every ſide. A king weak and imprudent, ſubjects cowardly and treacherous, concurred to cauſe the public misfortunes. Peace was again purchaſed of the Danes. The Normans, their countrymen, whom the famous Rollo had near an age before eſtabliſhed in Normandy, had occaſion for their aſſiſtance againſt Robert king of France. This was perhaps the principal reaſon of their departure. Ethelred hoped to find a reſource in forming an alliance with this terrible people. Being a widower, he eaſily obtained the ſiſter of Richard the ſecond, duke of Normandy. A great number of Danes ſtill remained in England, where many had eſtabliſhments. The injuries received from them, their arts of perfidy, augmented the national hatred of the Engliſh. The ancient hiſtorians accuſe them of an enormous luxury, which conſiſted in combing themſelves once a day, bathing once a week, and frequently changing their habits.

Cruelty,

Cruelty, the crime of weak princes, inſpired the deſign of maſſacring them. Secret orders for this barbarous execution were diſpatched; they choſe the day on which the Danes were accuſtomed to bathe themſelves: they murdered them without pity, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Even the ſiſter of the king of Denmark, Gunilda, was condemned to death by Ethelred, after having ſeen ſtream before her eyes the blood of her huſband and children. Her laſt words were a kind of prophecy which foretold the ruin of the Engliſh. A. D. 1002. Maſſacre of the Danes.

Vengeance ſoon brought back the redoubtable Sweyn, eager to find a pretence for war and rapine. He cruelly ravaged the kingdom. Famine, treachery, compleated thoſe diſaſters. An unſtable peace, purchaſed at the expence of thirty thouſand pounds, was followed by new hoſtilities. Either by the efforts of the enemy, or the perfidy of the generals, Ethelred's great preparations ended in nothing, The more money was given to the Danes, the more ready they were to violate their engagements. At length the nobility ſubmitted to the

A. D. 1013. The kingdom ſubjected to the Danes.

king of Denmark, took the oath of fidelity to him, and gave him hoſtages. Ethelred fled with his family, and ſought an aſylum in Normandy, where Richard received him generouſly. Sweyn enjoyed his conqueſt only ſix months. After his death the nobles invited the king to return, in the hope that he would reign with more wiſdom and courage. He returned to his kingdom ſtill the ſame, delivered up to the counſels of a traitor, whoſe villanies he had experienced. Duke Edric, ſo was this wicked man named, influenced him to commit many acts of the moſt odious injuſtice, and afterwards abandoned him to join Canute, ſon to Sweyn, as brave, and as formidable, as his father. Ethelred ended an unfortunate reign of thirty five years, without leaving to England any other reſource than his ſon Edmund, who had already ſignalized himſelf by the moſt heroic valor.

Danegelt.

Under this reign was eſtabliſhed a tax, called Danegelt, of one ſhilling a hyde on all the lands in the kingdom, appropriated to raiſe forces againſt the Danes, or to bribe them to peace. The hyde is that quantity of

of land which a plough can till in one day.

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## EDMUND the Second.

THIS prince had not only the Danes, but his perfidious ſubjects, ever diſpoſed to revolt, for his enemies. The nobles and prelates gave him juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. To prevent their treaſon, he haſtened to give battle. Fortune declared for him; when Edric, having cut off the head of one who reſembled him, fixed it on the point of a ſpear, and ſhewed it in triumph, as the head of Edmund. The Engliſh were ſtruck with conſternation: the king took off his helmet, and made himſelf known; but all his efforts were ineffectual to recover his firſt advantage, and the victory remained undecided. Edric, by the moſt horrible perfidy, pretended to repent of his revolt. He rejoined the king, who was obliged to entruſt him with a command. Soon after, in a ſecond battle, he occaſioned, by his flight, the defeat of the army. Edmund aſ- A. D. 1016.

ſembled freſh troops, and prepared to renew the war. But the two nations being equally weary of ſo many maſſacres, their princes found themſelves under the neceſſity of coming to a treaty, and of dividing the kingdom between them. The Danes had Mercia, Northumberland, and Eaſt-Anglia. Edmund ſurvived the treaty but a month. He was aſſaſſinated by ſome accomplices of Edric.

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## CANUTE the Great.

A. D. 1017. A Daniſh king.

THE two ſons of Edmund had an undoubted right to the ſucceſſion. Canute, intending to deprive them of it, had the policy to color his uſurpation with an appearance of juſtice. He aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom; he proved, by ſuborned witneſſes, that one of the conditions of the treaty ſettled the crown on him to the prejudice of theſe children; he procured himſelf to be appointed ſucceſſor to the father, and ſent the young princes to the king of Sweden his ally, whom he intreated to put them to death.

death. The Swede, full of horror at the idea of this crime, ſent them into Hungary, where they were generouſly received by Solomon king of that country. The firſt care of Canute was to eſtabliſh his power. He ſacrificed a great number of the Engliſh, faithful to the blood of their ancient ſovereigns, and delivered himſelf from ſome noblemen to whom he had been obliged to give too much power. The infamous Edric had the audacity to reproach him with his paſt ſervices; he received the reward which traitors merit. He was executed as a criminal, and his body thrown into the Thames. England, the city of London in particular, was loaded with impoſts. Canute had occaſion for money, to recompence his officers and partizans. Neceſſity rather than tyranny cauſed ſome rigors, which were ſoon forgot in the wiſdom of his government. Reſolved to gain the hearts of the Engliſh, he put a perfect equality between the Danes and this people. He confirmed the Saxon laws and cuſtoms. An impartial adminiſtration of juſtice baniſhed fear and ſuſpicions; and the two nations formed only one,

Canute eſtabliſhes his power.

Puniſhment of Edric.

The Engliſh attached to Canute.

the happineſs and tranquillity of which compleated the glory of the monarch.

The duke of Normandy prepared to ſupport the rights of the two ſons of Ethelred, his nephews, to whom he had, when they accompanied their father, given an aſylum in his dominions. Canute prevented this ſtorm, by marrying Emma, ſiſter to the duke, and mother to theſe princes. The Engliſh ſaw her return with pleaſure, and were the more attached to their ſovereign. They gave him a glorious proof of their zeal, in a voyage which he made into Denmark. The king of Sweden had attacked him. Earl Godwin, without communicating to him his deſign, favored by the night, threw himſelf, at the head of the Engliſh, on the camp of the enemy, and obtained a complete victory. Canute, charmed with this unexpected action, gave him his daughter in marriage, and loaded him with favors. This prince, having paſſed a ſecond time into Denmark, his ancient kingdom, took that opportunity to conquer Norway. Three ſuch great ſtates rendered him the moſt powerful monarch of Europe. His ambition was ſatisfied.

ſatisfied. Diſguſted with the emptineſs of human grandeur, he gave himſelf up to ſentiments of religion, more proper to fill a great ſoul. Religion of Canute.

Foundations of churches and convents were, according to the cuſtoms of thoſe times, the principal fruits of his piety. He went in pilgrimage to Rome. He engaged the princes through whoſe dominions he paſſed, to diſcharge the pilgrims from the taxes which they exacted from them on the road. Hiſtorians relate a remarkable ſtroke of his piety to God, and contempt for flattery. Some of thoſe flatterers of whom courts are always full, elevating him one day to the clouds, and aſſerting that every thing was poſſible to him, he cauſed himſelf to be carried, ſitting in a chair, to the ſea ſhore, at the hour when the tide was coming in. When the waves approached him, he commanded them in an imperious tone to retire; obliged ſoon to retire himſelf, he remarked to his courtiers, 'How weak was all human power before the Lord of the elements!' The end of this reign was tranquil. Malcolm, king of Scotland, refuſed to do homage for Cumberland,

a province of England which he poſſeſſed. But Canute without difficulty reduced him to ſubmiſſion.

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## HAROLD the Firſt.

A. D. 1035. Violences of Harold.

CANUTE had, by the princeſs of Normandy, a ſon, Hardicanute, or Canute the ſecond, who, according to the treaty made with duke Richard, ought to have ſucceeded to the crown of England. Harold notwithſtanding, his ſon by his firſt marriage, was appointed heir, by the will of the late king. The Engliſh declared for Hardicanute. They prevented a civil war by dividing the kingdom. All the provinces to the north of the Thames were deſtined to Harold. The two princes, Alfred and Edward, ſons of king Ethelred, were returned from Normandy to viſit their mother. They might become dangerous competitors. Harold drew the firſt to London, put out his eyes, and ſhut him up in a convent, where he died. Edward fled. The king afterwards uſurped the inheritance

heritance of his brother, Hardicanute, but reigned only four years.

## HARDICANUTE or CANUTE the Second.

THIS prince ſoon loſt the affections of the Engliſh by his violences and inhumanity. He cauſed the body of his predeceſſor to be dug up, and thrown into the Thames. So odious a revenge provoked the whole nation. An extraordinary tax compleated their diſguſt. The populace killed two of the collectors at Worceſter. This city was ſacked, and reduced to aſhes, by the monarch's orders. Happily this reign, which promiſed nothing but cruelties, was finiſhed in about two years. A. D. 1039.

## EDWARD the Confeſſor.

THE king of Norway, brother to Hardicanute, being at a diſtance, the hope of throwing off the Daniſh A. D. 1041. The Engliſh throw off the Daniſh yoke.

yoke revived in the minds of the Engliſh that zeal and courage which had ſo long ſeemed loſt. They caſt their eyes on Edward, the only prince of the royal family whom they could call to the throne; for the heirs of Edmund the ſecond were in Hungary, and the order of ſucceſſion yielded to the neceſſities of the ſtate. Duke Godwin, all-powerful in the kingdom, was alone able to bring about this ſo eagerly deſired revolution. Son in law to Canute, hated by prince Edward, who accuſed him of his brother Alfred's murder, it ſeemed difficult to engage him to concur in this meaſure. Their common intereſt however ſtifled all animoſities. Edward promiſed to eſpouſe Editha, daughter to Godwin; the latter found no oppoſition in placing the crown on his head; and though this event was a triumph over the Danes, the gentleneſs of the prince, and the embarraſſment of their ſituation, reconciled them to the government. Hiſtory no longer marks any difference between the two nations, who were equally reduced to ſubmiſſion by William ſome time after.

The

The new king treated with great harſhneſs his mother Emma, widow of Ethelred and of Canute the firſt, whom her ſecond marriage had rendered indifferent to her children by the firſt. She was deſpoiled of her treaſures, and ſhut up in a convent. Accuſed, they ſay, of enormous crimes, ſhe juſtified herſelf by walking barefoot over red hot irons. This fable of the monks is rejected by leſs credulous hiſtorians. The diſgrace of the queen mother produced no ill conſequences. But Edward had the imprudence to excite the jealouſy of the Engliſh, by the favor with which he honored ſtrangers. He had paſſed his youth in Normandy, and was particularly attached to the Normans. His court was full of them; and the French language, manners, and faſhions, became every day more common in England. The Normans obtained the principal church dignities. Though they did not poſſeſs either the civil or military employments, they had too much influence in affairs of ſtate not to let the Engliſh ſee a very ſtriking partiality in their favor.

Revolt of Godwin.

Godwin, eſpecially, conceived a very lively reſentment, which was not long before it broke out. Euſtace, count of Boulogne, being come to viſit the king, was at Dover inſulted by the populace. Godwin received an order to chaſtiſe the inhabitants. He refuſed to obey; the menaces of the king determined him to a revolt. As a great part of the government was in his hands, and thoſe of his two ſons, he had ſoon an army. Edward entered into a negotiation to gain time. They ran from all parts to the aſſiſtance of a prince whoſe piety and ſweetneſs of temper rendered him dear to the nation. Godwin, who had believed himſelf maſter, was, with his children, conſtrained to fly. Their immenſe poſſeſſions were confiſcated; and queen Editha, daughter to the rebel, was confined in a monaſtery. This amiable princeſs had not been able to conciliate her huſband's tenderneſs, whether her father's crimes rendered her odious to him, or that the vow of virginity, which Edward had taken, had eſtranged him from her without hope of return.

A vaſt

A vaſt credit and great alliances furniſhed Godwin with prompt reſources. He equipped a fleet, ſailed up the Thames, appeared before London, ſpread terror around, and, proteſting he deſired only to juſtify himſelf, obtained a treaty fatal to the royal authority. All the ſtrangers were baniſhed; the hoſtages he gave were ſent into Normandy, ſo difficult was it to keep them ſafely within the kingdom. This nobleman died the following year, as he was ſitting at table with the king. His ſon Harold, as ambitious and more inſinuating than himſelf, not only ſucceeded to all his power, but augmented it by his talent of gaining hearts. The king himſelf expreſſed friendſhip for him. To counterbalance however his power, he raiſed him a rival in the perſon of Algar, ſon to the duke of Mercia; an expedient more proper to multiply than to diſſipate troubles in the ſtate, unleſs ſupported with the moſt profound policy. The death of Siward duke of Northumberland, who had rendered important ſervices to the crown, cemented the foundation of his greatneſs. The throne itſelf appeared

A. D. 1052.

peared no longer an object above his ambition, and he flattered himself with the hope of obtaining it, whenever the king should ceaſe to live.

Edward wiſhes to appoint a ſucceſſor.

This prince, who had abſtained from all commerce with his wife, having no children, thought of appointing a ſucceſſor. He recalled from Hungary the remains of the royal family. His nephew died on his arrival. Edgar, ſon to this nephew, was too young to hold the reins of government. Edward's inclination carried him towards the famous William duke of Normandy, his relation, whoſe firmneſs and prudence were already admired. He ſecretly acquainted him with his deſign; the duke ſeized with joy ſo flattering a hope. Though Harold was ignorant of the monarch's deſigns, he could not without pain ſee his brother and nephew, who had been exacted as hoſtages of Godwin, and ſent into Normandy, in the hands of William. Having obtained or extorted permiſſion to fetch them back, on pretence that his fidelity was above all ſuſpicion, he embarked, and was thrown by a tempeſt on the dominions of the count of Ponthieu, who kept him

Harold in Normandy.

him priſoner, in order to ranſom him at the exorbitant price his avarice expected. Harold implored William's protection. He obtained his liberty, received him with great honors, confided to him the ſecret of his views on England, endeavored to gain him to his intereſts, offered him his daughter in marriage, and extorted from him an oath to ſecond him with all his power. A remarkable inſtance of the ſimplicity of that age is, that William cauſed relicks to be hid under the altar where the vow was to be taken; he ſhewed them afterwards to Harold, believing this artifice rendered his engagements more ſacred and inviolable.

Harold deceives William.

The fear of the relicks made leſs impreſſion than the deſire of a crown. Harold being at liberty paid little regard to an oath extorted by force. Whilſt he attached the Engliſh to himſelf by a wiſe and popular conduct, he inſpired them with hatred to the Normans. The glory he acquired by ſubduing the Welſh, ever ready to make incurſions into the kingdom, increaſed the reputation of his courage; and he ſignalized his juſtice by abandoning

abandoning the intereſt of the duke of Northumberland his brother, whoſe tyrannical government had cauſed a revolt of the Northumbrians. Certain from this time of the ſuffrages of the nation, maſter of great part of the kingdom by himſelf or his friends, formidable to a weak and irreſolute king, he no longer diſſembled his pretenſions to the crown. Edward died without having named his ſucceſſor. The piety of this prince has ranked him in the number of the ſaints. His condeſcenſions to Godwin and Harold contributed greatly to maintain the public tranquillity. Nothing rendered him more reſpectable than his love of juſtice. His laws were long admired and honored in England. The collection of them is loſt, and thoſe that bear his name are falſely attributed to him. He introduced the cuſtom of touching for the evil. It was afterwards believed that the kings of England had the gift of healing this diſeaſe. The ſame cuſtom and the ſame opinion prevailed in France. The houſe of Hanover, the preſent reigning family, have dropped this ſpecies

A. D. 1055.

Cuſtom of touching for the evil.

ſpecies of prerogative, which the very people had ceaſed to reſpect.

## HAROLD the Second.

THE power of Harold was ſo well eſtabliſhed, and his meaſures ſo well concerted, that he mounted the throne without any oppoſition. The council, aſſembled to acknowledge him, neither thought of prince Edgar, the lawful heir, nor of the duke of Normandy, who could alledge no other title than the intentions of Edward in his favor. If the new king found ſubjects affectionate and faithful, he had without the kingdom powerful enemies, whoſe hatred and ambition conſpired his ruin. Toſti, that brother whom he had ſacrificed to the good of the Northumbrians, was the firſt to declare himſelf. He excited Baldwin, count of Flanders, his father in law, and William, alſo ſon in law to this prince, to eſpouſe his quarrel. He addreſſed himſelf to the king of Norway, and armed againſt his country theſe northern ravagers, whoſe

A. D. 1066. Harold acknowledged in England.

whoſe inteſtine diviſions had kept them a long time from troubling the repoſe of England.

Preparations of William.

William was actuated by the deſire of revenge, as well as urged by motives of ambition. Having by an ambaſſador reproached the king with his perjury, having ſummoned him to cede the crown, he received a firm reply, and foreſaw a vigorous reſiſtance. He meditated the conqueſt of England, a deſign which at firſt view appears chimerical, and above his ſtrength. But ſeveral favorable circumſtances contributed to remove all difficulties. The reputation of bravery which the Normans had acquired; the exploits of ſome of their countrymen, private adventurers, who had founded the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; the heroiſm of William, who yet young had triumphed over all the efforts of France, and his own vaſſals, drew to Normandy the moſt celebrated heroes of Europe, in a time when every lord, nearly independent on his ſovereign, ſeized with ardor occaſions to ſignalize himſelf in arms. As ſoon as the duke's intentions were known, a crowd of warriors eagerly haſtened to offer him

him their ſervices. The emperor, Henry the fourth, declared himſelf warmly in his favor. Pope Alexander the ſecond ſent him a conſecrated banner, after having excommunicated Harold as a perjured tyrant. France under Philip the firſt, yet a minor, favored this enterprize, ſo contrary to the intereſt of that crown. The ſtates of Normandy did not appear diſpoſed to furniſh the money demanded of them; but the duke, addreſſing himſelf to the richeſt of his ſubjects ſeparately, obtained of them, and afterwards of the ſtates, the ſums he deſired. A fleet of three thouſand ſail, an army of ſixty thouſand men, menaced England with a fatal revolution.

Victory of Harold.

Toſti, and Halfager, king of Norway, had already ſpread an alarm through the kingdom. The firſt army that oppoſed them was cut in pieces. Harold, dear to the Engliſh, ſoon reaſſembled his forces, marched againſt the enemy, gave them battle, and gained a deciſive victory. Halfager and Toſti periſhed. This event had leſs happy conſequences than might have been hoped. The braveſt of the Engliſh were killed in the action, the reſt

reſt retired in diſcontent, becauſe the king had not diſtributed amongſt them the ſpoils of the conquered, which he reſerved doubtleſs for the occaſions of the ſtate. On a falſe report that William, detained by contrary winds, had renounced his enterprize, he ordered into port a great fleet which had been ſtationed to intercept the Normans, and by that means facilitated their invaſion. They diſembarked without any oppoſition. The duke happening to fall as he deſcended from his veſſel, cried aloud, "I have taken poſſeſſion of the country." They believed it a good omen. Their ſuperſtitious minds were livelily ſtruck with the moſt trifling circumſtances.

Deſcent of the Normans.

If Harold had followed the advice of his brother Gurth, he had probably ſaved the kingdom. A deciſive battle, where he was to expoſe his perſon, was, in Gurth's opinion, a hazardous ſtep, contrary to all the rules of prudence. The duke of Normandy could wiſh nothing more favorable; reduced to the neceſſity of conquering or dying, what advantages would he not have in an action where deſpair would augment the courage of his troops? It

was

was more adviſable to harraſs them by ſkirmiſhes, and weaken them by cutting off their proviſions: the rigors of winter (it was then the end of September) would infallibly compleat their ruin, and a wiſe delay ſecure the victory, which a raſh precipitation could not but render very doubtful. Harold, inſenſible to theſe remonſtrances, in ſpite of the deſertion of the veteran ſoldiers, began his march at the head of his army. William, having propoſed to him by the monks, either to yield the crown to him, or to hold it as his vaſſal, or to leave the deciſion of their cauſe to the pope, or to determine it by ſingle combat, he replied, That the God of battles would decide it immediately.

Battle of Haſtings.

The night that preceded this famous action was paſſed in prayers by the Normans, and in riot and exceſs by the Engliſh. William in the morning harangued his officers, placed before their eyes the hope of conqueſt, the fatal conſequence of a defeat, and did not fail to inſiſt on the former vow of Harold, and the anathemas of the pope, arguments at that time ſo powerful, that the king's brother had made

uſe

uſe of them to diſſuade him from giving battle. The battle laſted all the day. The Normans were ſeveral times repulſed. The duke, like a ſkilful general, made uſe of a ſtratagem which ſucceeded. He ordered his troops to retire before the Engliſh. The latter, ill diſciplined, purſued them without order, with an ungovernable impetuoſity, when on a ſudden the enemy faced about, and recovered their advantage. The king and his two brothers loſt their lives. William, after having had three horſes killed under him, and having loſt about ſixteen thouſand men, gained a compleat victory, ſoon after followed by the conqueſt of the whole kingdom. This event put an end to the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons. The picture of their government and manners will appear the more intereſting, as it has much relation to our ancient cuſtoms, and as it will ſerve for an introduction to the principal part of the hiſtory of England.

Government and manners of the Saxons.

The Saxons preſerved always that ſpirit of liberty which characterized the Germans, and which we ſee ſo ſtrongly painted in Tacitus. The very

very idea of deſpotiſm was unknown amongſt them. The name of king expreſſed rather the chief, than the abſolute maſter, of a people. The fine for the murder of a king, was only larger than that for another man. The right of ſucceſſion, common in families, might have been eaſily extended to the crown; but there was in reſpect to it no ſettled order of ſucceſſion. If the ſon of a prince was too young to govern, his uncle, or ſome other of the blood royal, took his place, as we have often ſeen. Without reflecting on the inconveniences of this dangerous cuſtom, the preſent neceſſity ſerved for a rule. The conſent of the general aſſembly of the nation, known under the name of Wittenagemot, or aſſembly of wiſe men, was neceſſary to the framing of laws, as well as to the moſt important affairs either eccleſiaſtical or civil. The biſhops and abbots were an eſſential part of this body. It is almoſt certain that the aldermen, or governors of counties, called earls after the Daniſh invaſion, were alſo members of that aſſembly. But hiſtorians are not agreed as to the others. Some aſſert,

Wittenagemot.

aſſert, that they were the repreſentatives of boroughs, that is to ſay, the commons, as at this time; others that they were only the moſt conſiderable perſons in the nation, by their learning or riches. This laſt ſentiment appears to us, as well as to Mr. Hume, the moſt probable. Would the appellation of *The Great*, which they gave to the members of the Wittenagemot, have been granted to the repreſentatives of the people, in a time when the military profeſſion only was in eſteem, when commerce and induſtry were deſpiſed, when the people were in poverty, and extremely dependent on the rich? The example of the Burgundians, of the Franks, and other Germans, who did not admit the commons into their general aſſemblies, furniſhes a ſtrong proof againſt this opinion. One cannot at leaſt doubt that the Saxon government became in time a ſpecies of ariſtocracy. The Danes having carried deſolation into every part, there remained only a ſmall number of powerful proprietors, whoſe protection the people implored, and who held them in a kind of ſervitude. Beſides, as true liberty is founded on the laws, the

The commons then unknown.

Ariſtocracy.

the leſs the laws are adapted to repreſs licentiouſneſs, the more occaſion have the weak for the ſtrong, and the more are they really ſubject to them. This was the ſtate of the Saxons. The nation was divided into the nobles or *thanes*, the free men or *ceorles*, and the ſlaves. An illuſtrious birth, or the poſſeſſion of lands, gave nobility, which was almoſt always in the blood, becauſe the people had very little the means of enriching themſelves. The nobles lived on their eſtates, and were at a vaſt expence in maintaining hoſpitality. The greater part of the freemen were their farmers. York, one of the capital cities in the kingdom, contained only about fourteen hundred families, which proves that all the effects of induſtry were then confined to agriculture. The ſlaves were either domeſtics attached to the houſe of the lord, or ſerfs attached to the glebe, that is, to his domain; he diſpoſed of them as of his goods. Men had a power to ſell themſelves; and neceſſity, as well as force, made many ſlaves.

Different claſſes of men.

We have ſeen the order which Alfred eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice. Nothing, in thoſe barbarous times, could be better imagined.

Juſtice.

But it was not poſſible that the troubles of the ſtate, the exceſſive power of the nobles, the weakneſs of the people, the want of magiſtrates and lawyers, ſhould not introduce great confuſion into this important part of the government, and that the influence of the ariſtocracy ſhould not occaſion much injuſtice. The mildneſs of the German laws neceſſarily multiplied diſorders. They redeemed all crimes by pecuniary compenſations. Theſe fines were at firſt only paid to the perſons injured; they were afterwards appropriated, in part, to the prince, and formed a conſiderable part of his revenue. The price of every head was fixed. According to the laws of Kent, they paid no more for the murder of a king than of an archbiſhop. The compenſation for wounds was alſo fixed, as they were more or leſs large, or dangerous. Traces of this juriſprudence are found in the firſt ages of many other nations. Money alone was then requiſite, to be in ſome degree authorized to commit all kinds of crimes.

Pecuniary compenſations.

Judiciary proofs were ſuited to the rudeneſs of manners, and to the ignorance

Judiciary proofs.

norance of the judges. The oath, a proof the more weak becauſe the principles and ſentiments of morality were leſs developed, was continually made uſe of. The perſon accuſed brought witneſſes to ſwear, not that the accuſation was falſe, but that they gave credit to his replies. They ſometimes weighed the matters given in evidence, if ſuch an expreſſion may be allowed, in the ſcale of the witneſſes fortune. He whoſe life was valued at a hundred and twenty ſhillings counterbalanced the oath of ſix other perſons whoſe heads were rated only at twenty. As experience taught the facility of perjury, they ſubſtituted other proofs, but as fallacious as they were capricious and abſurd. Theſe were the duel, the judgement by the croſs, the proofs by fire or water, which were called *ordeal*. Theſe laſt practices, founded on a ſtupid ſuperſtition, accompanied by prayers and exorciſms, could only ſerve to ruin the innocent, and ſave the guilty. Our fathers, according to Monteſquieu's obſervation, made the honor, the fortune, and the lives of citizens, depend on things which had leſs to do with reaſon than with chance;

they employed without ceaſing proofs which proved nothing, and which were neither connected with innocence or guilt. (Spirit of Laws, book xxviii.) How many evils has the culture of reaſon ſpared, and how many benefits has it procured to mankind!

Militia money. Revenue of the crown.

It appears that all free men were obliged to take arms in their turn for the defence of the kingdom. The military forces are ſaid to have amounted to forty eight thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty men, without reckoning thoſe who were ready to ſerve on extraordinary occaſions. As to the money, the Saxon pound weighed three times the preſent, and contained forty eight ſhillings. 'Tis extremely difficult to value exactly the ſums of which ancient hiſtorians make mention. If we combine all circumſtances relative to this object, if we ſuppoſe that England has at preſent an hundred times more induſtry, and three times more inhabitants than at the Conqueſt, a pound then, according to Mr. Hume's calculation, was of an equal value at leaſt with an hundred in theſe days.

The domains of the crown, which were very great, and the taxes, probably

bly arbitrary, impoſed on the boroughs and ſea ports, made the monarch's revenue. He could not alienate the lands of the crown without the conſent of the nation. The famous tax, called Danegelt, had been eſtabliſhed by the ſtates.

We ſhall ſay nothing of the inhumanity, the drunkenneſs, the ignorance, of the Anglo-Saxons. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the Normans treated them as barbarians, thoſe Normans who yet themſelves preſerved much of their ancient barbariſm.

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## ENGLAND after the NORMAN Conqueſt.

THIS illuſtrious baſtard, who, after the death of Robert duke of Normandy, his father, had, whilſt yet young, triumphed over the moſt powerful enemies, was too politic not to make every poſſible advantage of his victory at Haſtings. Though the Engliſh had loſt much of their courage ſince their ſubmiſſion to the Daniſh yoke, though the glorious reign of A. D. 1066.

Canute had familiarized them to a foreign dominion, they made notwithſtanding ſome efforts in favor of Edgar Atheling, the only remaining prince of the blood royal. The archbiſhop of Canterbury proclaimed him king, and he prepared to defend his rights. But the activity of William redoubled the terror which his victory had inſpired. He made himſelf maſter without difficulty of the important town of Dover, and flew towards London, where all was in confuſion. The ſuperior clergy, almoſt all Normans or French ſince the reign of Edward, endeavoured to juſtify his enterprize by the authority of the pope's bull. His ſucceſs determined all minds in his favor. The primate, the nobility, Edgar himſelf, came at length to entreat him to accept the crown, and declared to him they knew no perſon more worthy to wear it. He was crowned in Weſtminſter Abbey. Whilſt the people by repeated acclamations renewed their promiſes of obedience, the Normans without, who guarded the church, ſuppoſing the noiſe proceeded from ſome violence offered to their prince, threw themſelves

William is crowned.

ſelves furiouſly on the Engliſh, and it was with difficulty William put an end to the tumult.

His firſt ſteps were thoſe of a wiſe politician, aiming to gain the hearts of the conquered people, and to prevent thoſe diſorders which generally attend a revolution. He exerciſed in England that exact juſtice he had ever obſerved in Normandy, eſpecially in maintaining the diſcipline of his troops; he tempered however its ſeverity by his affability, and well-timed liberality. As the clergy had been very uſeful to him, they partook largely of his bounty. The privileges of London and the other cities were confirmed. Edgar and the principal Engliſh received from him nothing but benefits. All promiſed an equitable adminiſtration, and a quiet reign. The prince however had his own intereſt more at heart than the happineſs of England. He took care to diſtribute the confiſcated lands amongſt his Normans, to place all authority in their hands, to build citadels which bridled the kingdom, and to preſerve that terrible power of the ſword to which he owed his greatneſs. They were ſoon con- Wiſe government.

vinced he had rather the ſoul of a conqueror than that of a king.

A. D. 1067. Revolt of the Engliſh in the Conqueror's abſence.

Having provided ſufficiently for the ſecurity of his conqueſt, he haſtened to paſs into Normandy, either from a motive of vanity unworthy his character, or to give the vanquiſhed an opportunity of meriting harſher treatment; an odious policy, of which one ought not to accuſe him on mere probabilities. This voyage was a ſource of misfortunes. The Engliſh nobles accompanied him with a magnificence which greatly heightened the ſplendor of his court. Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, a crowd of princes and nobles, came to congratulate his triumph. Whilſt they delivered themſelves to joy, England was torn with violent convulſions. It was impoſſible that in William's abſence, the Normans, proud of their victories, greedy of prey, full of contempt for a nation ſo eaſily reduced to ſubjection, ſhould not commit many diſorders, and provoke to rebellion this reſtleſs people, ſtill ſenſible to the love of liberty. Diſcontent ſpread itſelf every where; mutual hatred every day increaſed. In ſome of the provinces they took arms.

arms. William haſtened to England, curbed the mutinous, and reeſtabliſhed the impoſition of Danegelt, ſuppreſſed by St. Edward. From this time he gave his ſubjects reaſon to apprehend that deſpotic government to which he was too much inclined, and which preſent circumſtances made him without doubt regard as neceſſary. He aimed at enſlaving and impoveriſhing the nation. Pretences were not wanting. Revolts were multiplied without end. All the kingdom was in flames. The kings of Scotland and Denmark joined the Engliſh. Some of William's partizans quitted his ſervice. A revolution would have been certain, if he had poſſeſſed leſs abilities and vigor. But, ſuperior to the greateſt dangers, as well by his genius as by his courage, he diſſipated this multitude of enemies. Some were gained, others forced into ſubmiſſion; the king of Scotland retired, the rebels diſperſed, and the Conqueror executed his deſign of changing the face of England. William ſubdues the rebels.

Taking advantage of thoſe ſubjects of accuſation with which this rebellion furniſhed him, he confiſcated the A. D. 1070. Eſtabliſhment of fiefs.

eſtates of almoſt all the nobility, and diſtributed them amongſt the Normans, and other ſtrangers who had followed him. Riches and power were crimes the puniſhment of which was inevitable. The ancient families, lately ſo opulent, ſunk into contempt and poverty. The feudal government, eſtabliſhed in Normandy and France, appeared to William the moſt proper to cement his conqueſt. He divided the kingdom into baronies, which were made the rewards of his partizans; who granted portions of their eſtates to under tenants. They reckon about ſeven hundred great fiefs, and more than fifty thouſand of the ſmaller. No Engliſhman had any ſhare in the firſt: it was a great acquiſition for them to obtain any of the ſecond. The eccleſiaſtical eſtates were equally ſubjected to the feudal laws, to the obligation of furniſhing troops to the ſovereign, and to the puniſhments incurred by felony or diſobedience. The pope, the clergy, murmured at this; but the king, having no longer any occaſion for their aſſiſtance, gave little attention to their complaints. We ſhall ſee at the end

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of king John's reign a more particular account of the feudal government.

Alexander the ſecond took advantage of preſent circumſtances to eſtabliſh his juriſdiction in England, where they had hitherto ſcarce acknowledged more than the pope's primacy. He ſent thither a legate, the firſt that ever entered the kingdom. The native Engliſh biſhops, eſpecially Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of the kingdom, gave umbrage to the Conqueror. His policy made him wiſh to attack them under the cover of religion. The legate was more zealous to ſerve him, as it gave opportunity to exerciſe his power to the utmoſt extent. He condemned and depoſed the archbiſhop in a council; the king immediately confiſcated his effects, and impriſoned him. All the other Engliſh biſhops, one only excepted, were deprived alſo of their ſees. The celebrated Lanfranc, a Milaneſe monk, raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, laboured without ceaſing to extend the authority of Rome, which now took deep root in England. But William, yet more jealous of his own, took care not to expoſe himſelf to dangerous

The authority of the pope in England.

attempts. The frequent abuſes of the ſpiritual power excited his vigilance and his firmneſs. He inſiſted the canons of the ſynods, and even the bulls of the pope, ſhould be confirmed by the royal authority, and that none of his miniſters or barons ſhould, without his conſent, be excommunicated on any pretence whatſoever. Theſe precautions prevented the eccleſiaſtics from embroiling the ſtate.

The French language in England.

All the Conqueror's meaſures tended to ruin the Engliſh. He aimed at annihilating their language, after having deprived them of their eſtates. He ordained that French ſhould be taught in all ſchools. It was the language of the court, and conſequently of the gentlemen and nobles. It was uſed in all public acts, in framing of laws, in the courts of juſtice, and in contracts. From hence that multitude of French words which are become Engliſh, and which have enriched an idiom before extremely barren. Some of Edward's laws, which William reſtored, rendered his government leſs odious to the nation. The ſeeds of rebellion notwithſtanding always remained. The earls Edwin and Morcar,

Morcar, prince Edgar, the king of Scotland, took arms, and were defeated. The king ſhewed not more generoſity to the chiefs of the rebels, whoſe valor he eſteemed, than ſeverity to their partizans. Confiſcations, the moſt cruel puniſhments, were the ordinary conſequences of his victories. An inſurrection in Maine, a province which belonged to him, was ſoon quelled by his preſence, and by the courage of the Engliſh, eager to merit his confidence.

A. D. 1074. An inſurrection of the Normans in England.

But whilſt he was employed in this expedition, the Normans themſelves conſpired againſt him in England. Some of the Norman lords, enriched by his favors, unable to bear his imperious dominion, accuſing him of tyranny, and reproaching him with his illegitimate birth, a circumſtance for which he did not however bluſh, formed a deſign to dethrone him. Earl Waltheof, the only Engliſhman who had preſerved the leaſt power, huſband to the monarch's niece, at firſt approved their deſign. Reflexion and remorſe led him back to his duty. He croſſed the ſea, and revealed the ſecret to William. Unfortunately the earl's

earl's wife, who hated the huſband whoſe confidence ſhe poſſeſſed, had by a letter prejudiced the king againſt him, and nothing could efface the impreſſions he had received. The departure of Waltheof informed the conſpirators they were betrayed. They ran to arms, without waiting for the Danes, their principal reſource. William's generals ſpared him the trouble of combating. He found nothing but ſubmiſſion at his return. The ſolicitations of his niece, and his own averſion to the Engliſh name, rendered him implacable towards Waltheof. He was tried, condemned to death, and executed. His unworthy wife fell ſome time after into diſgrace and contempt, a juſt reward for ſuch atrocious perfidy.

A. D. 1076. Gregory the ſeventh, his pretenſions.

Notwithſtanding the power of the king of England, the church had now a head capable of braving him. This was the famous Gregory the ſeventh (Hildebrand), infatuated with chimerical ideas of the pontifical power, ardent to eſtabliſh a falſe ſyſtem by violent methods, and the principal author of ſo many wars during ſeveral ages by the quarrel of the pontificate

pontificate with the empire. The ancient cuſtom of giving the inveſtiture to benefices by a croſier and ring, a ceremony of no conſequence to religion, had appeared to him a ſufficient reaſon for excommunicating and depoſing the emperor Henry the fourth, of arming his ſubjects and relations againſt him, of ſhedding rivers of blood in Italy and Germany, where this diſpute occaſioned more than ſixty battles under two reigns. Believing he had a right to diſpoſe of crowns, he lorded it every where as ſupreme ſovereign. France, Spain, Poland; Europe and Aſia experienced his deſpotiſm in their turn. At length he ſummoned William to render him homage for the crown of England, and to pay him the accuſtomed tribute. He gave this name to the Peter-pence, which the liberality of the Saxon princes had granted to the pope, without perceiving that it would be made uſe of as a claim againſt the independence of their ſucceſſors. William replied, that he would willingly ſend the money according to cuſtom; but that he owed no homage, and therefore would render none. His refuſal to ſuffer the biſhops

biſhops to go to Rome, where Gregory had called a general council, left no doubt of the firmneſs of his reſolutions. He permited notwithſtanding the pope's legate to hold a ſynod at Wincheſter, to eſtabliſh the celibacy of the eccleſiaſtics. No object of diſcipline had ever met with ſuch ſtrong oppoſition in the kingdom. All that could be obtained of this aſſembly was, that for the future neither prieſts nor deacons ſhould be ordained who did not promiſe to obſerve celibacy; but they obliged only the clergy of cathedrals and collegiate churches to ſeparate themſelves from their wives.

Rules in regard to celibacy.

Revolt of William's ſon.

The proſperity of kings, like that of private men, is never without ſome mixture of bitterneſs. William found in his family a ſource of inquietude and chagrin. He had ſecured the ſucceſſion of Normandy to Robert, his eldeſt ſon. This prince, fiery, ambitious, averſe to all reſtraint, demanded to be put in poſſeſſion of his inheritance. The refuſal of a father, unwilling to ſtrip himſelf of his poſſeſſions, exaſperated his impatient humor. He complained, he caballed,

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and at length had the audacity to revolt. After ſome years of diſcord, the king brought over an Engliſh army, in order entirely to ſubdue his rebellious ſon. Robert, ſupported privately by the king of France, retired into the caſtle of Gerberoi in the Beauvoiſis, where he was beſieged and defended himſelf with vigor. As exploits of chivalry were then the mode, he went one day out of the place, and attacked his father, without knowing him under the caſque which covered his face. The two champions were of tried valor. The combat was terrible. William received a wound, and fell from his horſe. His ſon, knowing his voice, ſeized with horror and remorſe, threw himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon, and yielded himſelf to whatever puniſhment he pleaſed to inflict on him. The king at firſt liſtened only to his anger; but ſuffered himſelf at length to be ſoftened by the queen's remonſtrances, and Robert's ſubmiſſion. This young prince accompanied him to England, and repulſed an incurſion of the king of Scotland.

A. D. 1079.

William fights with his ſon.

The

Survey of the lands.

Domeſday Book.

His paſſion for the chace.

The tranquillity of the kingdom facilitated the execution of a project worthy of William. He made an exact ſurvey of all the lands, their value, their quality, and the number of inhabitants. This uſeful work yet ſubſiſts. The extreme paſſion of this prince for the chace prompted him to another enterprize which deſerves only reproaches. A tract of country of thirty miles extent near Wincheſter was converted into foreſt. Houſes, domains, fields, churches, all were ſacrificed to the pleaſures of one man, without any recompence made to the proprietors: laws juſtly odious condemned thoſe to loſe their eyes who killed a boar, a ſtag, or even a hare, in the king's foreſts; whilſt the murderer of a citizen was only puniſhed by a fine. It is thus that the rights of human nature are cruſhed by the laws of force: in poliſhed ages we too often ſee man treated more cruelly than the beaſts.

A biſhop arreſted by the king.

The biſhop of Bayeux, half-brother to the king, who had made him earl of Kent, ſeduced by the predictions of an aſtrologer, grew infatuated by the hope of obtaining the papacy, and determined in order to ſatisfy his ambition

bition to retire with his immenſe treaſures to Rome: ſeveral barons agreed to follow him, in purſuit of an imaginary fortune. William, having diſcovered this conſpiracy, gave orders to have his brother arreſted. Nobody dared to obey him, ſo much the eccleſiaſtical immunities were reſpected. He ſeized him with his own hands, and the prelate claiming the privileges of the church: "I arreſt you, ſaid he, not as biſhop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent." The menaces of Gregory the ſeventh did not deliver the priſoner.

A. D. 1087. Death of William.

An affair of a more ſerious nature ſhortened the Conqueror's days. He had paſſed over into Normandy. Some incurſions of the French lords on his frontiers inclined him to take arms againſt Philip the firſt king of France. William, who was very corpulent, had for ſome days kept his bed. "When is he to be delivered, ſaid Philip in raillery?" This jeſt was repeated. The ſick man vowed he would celebrate his churching at Notre Dame in Paris with ten thouſand lances inſtead of wax lights. Scarce recovered, he carried fire and ſword into the kingdom.

dom. He took and burnt Mante; he would doubtleſs have puſhed his vengeance much further, had he not been wounded by a ſudden ſtart of his horſe. A fever ſeized him; the near approach of death made him enter into himſelf. He hoped to expiate his violences by laviſhing gifts on churches and convents. He died at the age of ſixty-two, after having given Normandy and Maine to Robert his eldeſt ſon, and appointed William, his ſecond, his ſucceſſor in England. Henry, their youngeſt brother, had little: but the king foretold that his fortune would one day ſurpaſs that of his brothers.

The valor, dexterity, and policy of this Conqueror, had eſtabliſhed his power on very ſolid foundations. Nobody made better uſe of the rights of the ſword, the only right that had made him maſter of a great kingdom. The rigors which he exerciſed in England, by which he merited the hatred of the conquered people, were perhaps in his circumſtances the only means by which he could have ſtifled ſedition, and revolts. But how great is the unhappineſs of human-kind, if

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the perſonal intereſt of the ambitious is ſufficient to juſtify their violence and oppreſſion! The barbariſm of manners in that age contributed without doubt to this fatal revolution. The Romans rendered their conqueſts permanent by leaving to the conquered the enjoyment of their property and laws. But the Romans did not reſemble William or his Normans. The wealth of this prince, augmented by his oeconomy, was ſo conſiderable, that no king of England has ſince equaled him in opulence. This is a proof, that he had reſerved to the crown a great part of the lands of which the Engliſh had been diſpoſſeſſed. The curfew law, by which he obliged the inhabitants of the kingdom to put out their lights at eight o'clock in the evening, at the ſound of a bell, is improperly cited as a proof of the ſervitude of the Engliſh. William had before eſtabliſhed this cuſtom in Normandy. It was equally obſerved in Scotland.

## WILLIAM RUFUS.

A. D. 1086. Right of William.

THE right of this prince, ſurnamed Rufus from the color of his hair, being founded only on a letter from his father to Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury, he haſtened into England before the Conqueror's death was known, to aſſure himſelf of a crown which naturally belonged to Robert his eldeſt brother. His addreſs in ſeizing his father's treaſures, and the principal fortreſſes; but above all the zeal of the primate, who had been his preceptor, procured him the crown without the leaſt oppoſition. But the barons ſaw unwillingly England and Normandy divided. As they poſſeſſed fiefs in both ſtates, the inconvenience of obeying two maſters, and the danger of loſing a part of their poſſeſſions, rendered them ſo much the more favorable to Robert's pretenſions, as they dreaded the tyrannical qualities of William. Violent, cruel, avaricious, haughty, he could not fail of giving juſt umbrage to the ambition of the nobles. The biſhop of Bayeux,

A conſpiracy.

jealous

jealous of Lanfranc's favor, put himſelf at the head of a formidable league. When the king was informed of this conſpiracy, he by the moſt flattering promiſes attached the Engliſh to his party, raiſed troops, threw himſelf on the rebels, diſperſed or ſubdued them, and confiſcated the eſtates of the greater part. Proſperity unveiled his vices. Having loſt the primate, whoſe counſels had reſtrained his paſſions, he no longer kept any meaſures. The Engliſh, as a recompence of their ſervices, were oppreſſed under the yoke of deſpotiſm. The privileges of the church, ſo vaſt and ſo reſpected, appeared nothing in the eye of the rapacious monarch. He ſold the benefices, or kept them vacant to convert the revenues to his own uſe. The terror was ſo general, that the complaints of the clergy excited no commotions in the kingdom.

A. D. 1090. The king arms againſt his brother.

Robert, whom a part of the nation had attempted to place on the throne of England, ſaw himſelf in danger of being ſtripped of his dominions. This brave prince wanted prudence and vigor in his conduct, and the lenity of his government encouraged the daring ambition

ambition of his vaſſals. All Normandy was torn in pieces by civil wars. William, whom no ties of blood could reſtrain, joined the rebels, in the hope of turning ſome circumſtance to his own advantage. An accommodation was mediated between the brothers; they mutually engaged, that if either ſhould die without poſterity, the other ſhould be his ſucceſſor. They marched together againſt Henry, their younger brother, whom diſcontent had hurried into rebellion. In this expedition, William being attacked one day by two ſoldiers, ſeeing himſelf on the point of periſhing by a thruſt of a ſword, "Stop, knave, ſaid he, I am the king of England." The ſoldier inſtantly raiſed him with reſpect, and received a reward. This is almoſt the only praiſe-worthy action of this prince. Henry was reduced to extremity, loſt the little he poſſeſſed, and led for ſome time a wandering and unhappy life.

A noble action of the king.

A. D. 1094. Though the duke of Normandy had ceded ſeveral places to William, he had not been able to make him either a friend or a faithful ally. The king invaded his dominions a ſecond time; and as a pretence to amaſs money,

Odious conduct of William.

money, ſent an order to raiſe in England an army of twenty thouſand men. Theſe troops, being on the point of embarking, he compelled, as a compenſation for military ſervice, to pay ten ſhillings a head; on which they were diſmiſſed. This ſtrange act of extortion anſwered the monarch's purpoſe better than an army. He corrupted ſeveral of his brother's vaſſals; he detached the king of France from his intereſt. But the incurſions of the Welſh obliged him ſooner than he wiſhed to repaſs the ſea. He repulſed theſe ravagers, who found always an aſylum in their mountains. His activity diſſipated a new conſpiracy of ſome Engliſh lords. The count d'Eu, accuſed of being one of the conſpirators, demanded to exculpate himſelf by ſingle combat. Vanquiſhed in preſence of the court, he was condemned to become an eunuch, and to loſe his eyes. One of his accomplices was hanged. What an impreſſion muſt theſe puniſhments have made, compared to the extreme lenity of the ancient laws!

A. D. 1076. Beginning of the cruſades.

Whilſt the feudal government filled all Europe with confuſion, whilſt vaſſals made war on their ſovereigns, ſovereigns on their vaſſals, and whilſt every lord was continually armed, either to defend himſelf or to invade his neighbours, the enthuſiaſm of the cruſades ſpread itſelf ſuddenly with a prodigious rapidity, and gave birth to events which would be thought impoſſible, if they could admit of a doubt. That devotion which heretofore led the people to Rome, was now turned towards Jeruſalem. This pilgrimage, becauſe longer and more difficult, was regarded as more meritorious, in times when exterior practices ſupplied the place of Chriſtian virtues. Peter the Hermit, a native of Picardy, a man of a warm imagination, painted in ſuch lively colors, at his return from Paleſtine, the vexations and outrages which the Chriſtian pilgrims ſuffered from the Turks, that pope Urban the ſecond made him his inſtrument to inſpire both princes and people with the deſign of conquering this land, ſanctified by the birth of our Saviour. The glory attending ſuch an undertaking, the intereſts of religion, the hopes of expiating

expiating by their valor the greateſt crimes; the proſpect of a conqueſt equally flattering to avarice and ambition: religious ideas, joined to the propenſities of nature, induced a forgetfulneſs of all dangers, all obſtacles, nay, in many, of all the duties of their ſtation. Urban having preached the holy war during the council of Clermont in Auvergne, where he excommunicated Phillip the firſt, an infinite number of perſons took the croſs, and prepared to throw themſelves on Aſia.

Normandy delivered to William.

This was at firſt an advantage to ſovereigns. Though they loſt many ſubjects, they were delivered from many enemies. Their turbulent vaſſals were removed to a diſtance; the fiefs, which they were obliged to ſell to defray the expences of the expedition, were re-united to the crown. In France theſe circumſtances contributed by degrees to raiſe the power of the monarchy. No prince was leſs worthy than William Rufus to reap advantage from theſe pious indiſcretions of the cruſaders, and no one reaped more. His brother, Robert, one of the moſt ardent to meet the dangers of this enterprize, deſirous to

maintain the dignity of his rank, and failing of the neceſſary reſources, offered to mortgage his dominions to him for ten thouſand marks. This moderate ſum was raiſed by extortion. Robert left the king in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Maine, felicitating himſelf on ſacrificing all to the reigning devotion. His anceſtor, father to the Conqueror, had already loſt his life in a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. William, who joined impiety to his other vices, deſpiſed the cruſade without even reſpecting the motive.

His diſputes with St. Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, rendered him more odious to the eccleſiaſtics, and augmented his averſion to them. This great ſee had been kept vacant after the death of Lanfranc, like many others of which the king appropriated the revenues to his own uſe. A dangerous ſickneſs having inſpired him with remorſe, he had forced Anſelm, abbot of Bec in Normandy, to receive a dignity to which he manifeſted the moſt lively repugnance. His paſſions returned with his health, and he ſoon found in the primate a rigid cenſor of his faults. The quarrel of Urban the ſecond with Clement,

Clement, who diſputed the papacy, occaſioned a dangerous ſchiſm. William, after his father's example, had prohibited his ſubjects from acknowledging any pope whom he had not firſt received; a ſtep which the public tranquillity ſeemed to make neceſſary. Anſelm having, notwithſtanding, declared in favor of Urban, the king endeavoured to get him depoſed, but could not engage the other biſhops in this meaſure. The pope having been at length acknowledged, they were in appearance reconciled. But the inflexible prelate furniſhed matter for freſh diviſions. He inſiſted poſitively that all the revenues of his ſee ſhould be reſtored; on the king's refuſal he appealed to the pope, and irritated this prince to ſuch a degree, that, to avoid his rage, he aſked and obtained permiſſion to retire to Rome. His goods were confiſcated. Urban gave him the moſt honorable reception. We may judge of the character of Anſelm by his zeal againſt the faſhions of that time. The principal one was that of wearing ſhoes [c] exceſſively long, which ter-

Ridiculous modes attacked by the clergy.

[c] They were called *Souliers a la poulaine.* The continuer of Nangis calls this ridiculous

minated in the ſhape of a bird's beak, with ornaments hanging from chains of gold or ſilver. This inconvenient faſhion ſubſiſted a long time, in ſpite of the ſermons and prohibitions of the clergy. The primate had better ſucceſs in attacking the long curled treſſes [*d*] which they then wore at court. His eloquence and ſeverity had ſufficient efficacy to make them cut their hair. Thoſe who made this ſacrifice, probably believed themſelves far advanced in the road of virtue, and were only the more ardent to gratify their paſſions; for the more perſons attach themſelves to trifling obſervances, the more they generally neglect eſſential duties.

A. D. 1099. Sudden anger of the king. His death.

All the power of the king of England could not prevent a private nobleman from giving him diſquiet. This was Helie, count of La Fleche in Anjou. The king paſſed the ſea ſeveral times to repel his attacks. One day, being engaged in the chace, he was in-

mode, a crime againſt nature, an outrage on the Creator.

[*d*] In France, as well as in England, wearing long hair was regarded as a crime which merited all the thunders of the church.

formed

formed that Helie had beſieged Mans. He galloped inſtantly to the neareſt port, determined not to ſtop till he had revenged this inſult. The ſea was ſtormy; the mariners repreſented the danger: "You never yet, ſaid he, heard of a king that was drowned." He obliged them to put to ſea, purſued the count, beſieged him in a caſtle, delivered the town, and received a wound which obliged him to return to England. A little time after, the count of Poitiers, duke of Guyenne, hurried away by the prevailing paſſion for cruſades, entered with him into an agreement of the ſame nature with that made with the duke of Normandy. William prepared to leave England to take poſſeſſion of Guyenne and Poitou, when he was killed in a hunting match, by an arrow aimed at a ſtag. He was about forty years old. The Tower, London-bridge, and Weſtminſter-hall, are monuments of his reign. The monks and eccleſiaſtics, his enemies, are ſuſpected of having painted him in too odious colors. But his wickedneſs, his perfidy, his rapacity, his acts of violence, are aſcertained by indubitable facts.

Monuments of architecture.

## HENRY the Firſt.

A. D. 1100. Henry uſurps the crown.

WILLIAM RUFUS dying unmarried, the crown belonged to Robert duke of Normandy, as well by the right of elderſhip as by a treaty long ſince concluded with the king. This prince had ſignalized himſelf in the cruſades. Jeruſalem was at length conquered, in ſpite of the diſorders and miſunderſtandings of the cruſaders, the perfidy of the Greeks, and the obſtacles without number which had reduced theſe armies, from about eight hundred thouſand, to twenty or thirty thouſand combatants. Robert, on his return, had married an Italian princeſs, and taſted in that delicious climate the ſweets of repoſe and love, when the throne which he had a right to fill became vacant. Prince Henry, his younger brother, finding himſelf on the ſpot, being even one of the hunting party where William was killed, ſeized with ardor the fortune that ſeemed to court his acceptance, haſtened to London to ſecure his brother's treaſures, gained the

the nobility and prelates, and was crowned as quietly as if his rights had been the moſt unqueſtionable.

His firſt care was to ſoften his uſurpation by every appearance of humanity and juſtice. He granted a famous charter, by which he engaged not to take to his own uſe the eccleſiaſtical revenues during the vacancy of abbies or biſhoprics; to leave to the heirs of the barons and vaſſals the poſſeſſion of their inheritance, without expecting the vaſt ſums which they drew from them under the laſt reigns; to renounce the right of wardſhip, in virtue of which the crown enjoyed the eſtates of minors; to conſent to the marriages which the barons choſe to make for their daughters, their ſiſters, their nieces, unleſs the huſband propoſed was his enemy; in ſhort, to moderate the taxes, to pardon paſt offences, to forgive the debtors of the crown, to maintain the laws of St. Edward, ſo dear to the nation. The under vaſſals were to enjoy the ſame privileges which he granted to the great lords. Thus the royal authority ſeemed to reſtrain itſelf within juſt bounds. Charter of Henry the firſt.

The primate refuſes homage.

The biſhop of Durham, author of almoſt all the oppreſſions which the kingdom had ſuffered, was impriſoned as a victim to the public hatred. But this ſee was kept vacant five years, and the king appropriated to himſelf the revenues; a manifeſt breach of his own charter. To render himſelf more agreeable in the eyes of the people, he recalled the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe reputation of ſanctity had increaſed during his diſgrace. Anſelm, when he arrived, refuſed to renew the homage which he owed to the ſovereign. The pope had decided lately in a council held at Rome, *That it was horrible that hands deſtined to create the Creator ſhould be reduced to the infamy of being put* (as was the cuſtom) *between hands continually ſoiled with blood, rapine, and impurity.* Whether ignorance hid the falſhood of theſe abſurd reaſonings, or the ſpirit of ſuperſtition prevented men from oppoſing them, they deceived the laity, and governed the conduct of the clergy. Henry, fearing to embroil himſelf with the primate, conſented to ſuſpend the diſpute till they had conſulted the pope. He gained the

the affections of the Engliſh by marrying Matilda, daughter to the king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. This princeſs, of the blood of their ancient kings, was infinitely dear to them. She had worn the veil in a convent; though ſhe had not taken the vows, there was reaſon to fear this circumſtance would be an obſtacle to the marriage. Anſelm aſſembled a council, where the affair was decided conformably to the wiſhes of the king and the nation.

A. D. 1101. War of the king with his brother.

Robert, who arrived in Normandy a little after the death of William, hoped to recover by arms a crown which he had loſt by his abſence. Several of the Norman barons in England conſpired in his favor. The ſeparation of the two ſtates was contrary to their private intereſts. Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, Warenne, earl of Surry, and ſome others, inſtigated the duke to attempt an invaſion. Henry guarded againſt this danger by ſecuring the friendſhip of the primate, whoſe credit was without bounds. He affected to conſult him in all affairs of ſtate, and to enter into all his views. Anſelm returned his confidence, and

retained the army in its duty. The duke at length arrived; the two brothers were preparing to give battle. A happy accommodation diſarmed them. Robert was ſatisfied with a penſion of three thouſand marks.

Indemnity for their vaſſals, and aſſiſtance againſt all enemies, were promiſed on both ſides. Nothing could have been more advantageous to the king. But, faithleſs to his word, he ſoon after attached Belleſme, Warenne, and the other principal rebels, whoſe great poſſeſſions were confiſcated. Whatever pretext the conduct of theſe formidable noblemen might furniſh for their condemnation, it was eaſy to penetrate the true motive. Robert had the imprudence to come in perſon to declare his reſentment; this was to deliver himſelf into the hands of an enemy. In order to recover his liberty, he was obliged to give up the penſion to which he had a right.

A. D. 1106. Conqueſt of Normandy.

This prince, full of courage and candor, wanted the qualities neceſſary to govern a ſtate. Divided between the practices of devotion and the pleaſures of libertiniſm, neglecting his affairs, ſuffering himſelf to be robbed and

and deceived by his ſervants, abandoning his ſubjects to the rapacity of his miniſters, not knowing how either to protect or reſtrain his vaſſals, he rendered Normandy unhappy in ſpite of his beneficent inclinations: ſo true is it, that goodneſs, unſupported by wiſdom, may form a bad prince. The ſpirit of diſcontent became ſo ſtrong, that the Normans had recourſe to Henry to put an end to theſe diſorders. His ambition had another aim. He paſſed the ſea, defeated the duke of Normandy, whoſe courage was ill-ſeconded by Belleſme, made Robert and his only ſon priſoner, rendered himſelf maſter of Rouen and all the province, received the homage of the duke's vaſſals, and returned triumphant to his kingdom. Robert remained in priſon till his death. Edgar Atheling, who had fought under his command, obtained his liberty with a moderate penſion, and finiſhed his obſcure life in England; a prince, as Mr. Hume obſerves, whoſe talents muſt have been very moderate, ſince, being the only heir of the royal Anglo-Saxon family, he lived tranquil under the reigns of three violent uſurpers. The

Death of prince Edgar.

A. D. 1107. Affairs of the inveſtitures.

The more the king had experienced the power of Anſelm, without which he would have run the riſk of being dethroned, the more he felt on one ſide the neceſſity of not breaking with this prelate; and on the other, that of ſuſtaining the rights of his crown againſt the new pretenſions of the clergy, eſpecially of the popes. The eccleſiaſtical power had raiſed itſelf to a height which made ſovereigns tremble. It ſeemed as if the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt was not only intended to be of this world, but to enſlave all the kingdoms of the world. Ambition and prejudice had effaced the firſt principles of the goſpel. We have already ſeen commence the diſpute of Henry with Anſelm on the ſubject of homage, which he was obliged to aboliſh, with the right of inveſtitures.

Reaſoning of the pope on the inveſtitures.

The reply of pope Paſcal the ſecond was worthy of Gregory the ſeventh. According to the uſual manner of reaſoning in thoſe times, he ſupported his refuſal on proofs equally frivolous and ſingular. Becauſe Jeſus Chriſt is called in ſcripture the *door*, he concluded that the eccleſiaſtics ought to enter into poſſeſſion of benefices by this

this door, and not by the road of the profane. Henry, little touched, as we may ſuppoſe, by theſe reaſons, was notwithſtanding too wiſe to expoſe himſelf to violent tempeſts. He ſent three biſhops to Rome with a deſign of accommodating theſe differences. Anſelm ſent thither on his part two monks, to be more certain of the pope's intention. The biſhops brought back to the king a thundering letter of Paſcal againſt inveſtitures, which he repreſented as a ſort of ſpiritual adultery with the church. The monks brought another to the archbiſhop, which contained a prohibition of doing homage to a layman, and of receiving benefices from his hand, a cuſtom which they ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of all ſimony. In this embarraſſing ſituation, Henry had recourſe to artifice. He ſuppreſſed Paſcal's anſwer, and engaged the three biſhops to declare that the pope did not diſapprove inveſtitures, but that prudence had prevented his explaining himſelf in writing on ſo delicate a ſubject. Anſelm, well aſſured of the contrary, purſued his point with heat, refuſed to conſecrate the biſhops who had

Conduct of the king, and of the primate.

had received the inveſtiture, ſeparated himſelf from their communion, and, ſeeing the prince irritated, once more obtained permiſſion to retire to Rome.

The pope obſtinate in his meaſures.

An embaſſador from England arrived there at the ſame time. He aſſured the pope, his maſter would rather loſe his crown than renounce one of his principal prerogatives: "And I (ſaid Paſcal) will ſooner loſe my head than ſuffer him to enjoy it with impunity." Menaces of excommunication already alarmed the kingdom. They knew the ſtate to which the thunder of the Vatican had reduced the emperors Henry the fourth and fifth, the fire which theſe cenſures had lighted in Germany: the more firmneſs the king ſhewed, the more the nation dreaded the conſequences.

They are reconciled.

But his prudence diſſipated the ſtorm. He purchaſed peace, by ſacrificing the right of inveſtiture; and Paſcal conſented to the homage which the biſhops owed to him as temporal lords. Anſelm was ſoon after re-inſtated.

Eccleſiaſtical ſtatutes.

A ſynod, held at Weſtminſter during the courſe of theſe diſputes, had prohibited the long hair of the laity, the

the marriages of the prieſts, and even all marriages within the eighth degree of conſanguinity excluſively. This laſt rule, in force over all the church, neceſſarily increaſed the number of divorces. In thoſe ages of darkneſs, when the uſe of the ſcriptures was uncommon, it was eaſy to produce, or to invent, after the ceremony, objections to a marriage which had not been thought of before. The hiſtory of France furniſhes but too many examples. Henry willingly cut his hair, to live in peace with the clergy.

War on account of Normandy.

His uſurpation of Normandy drew on him other enemies. William, ſon of duke Robert, a young prince of great hopes, had taken refuge with the count of Anjou; had demanded juſtice, and ſolicited protection, from ſeveral European ſovereigns. The king of France, Lewis the Groſs, the moſt intereſted of them all to declare for him againſt a too powerful neighbour, took arms as much from policy as generoſity. His allies deceived him; and not finding ſufficient forces in his own kingdom, the feudal anarchy having reduced the royalty to an extreme weakneſs, he took advantage of the

A. D. 1119. the council of Rheims, where pope Calixtus the ſecond preſided, to excite the eccleſiaſtical power againſt the king of England: a dangerous reſource, which authoriſed an abuſe of which all princes had too much reaſon to complain. The prudent Henry parried this blow; the Engliſh biſhops deputed to the council were forbid to bring back to the kingdom any ordinance of the pope contrary to the royal prerogative. His ambaſſadors had however inſtructions to endeavor to gain Calixtus to his intereſts. They ſucceeded. The ſpiritual ſword was ſheathed, and his fortune gave him the victory over Lewis the Groſs at the battle of Andely. The two kings made peace, after ſome expeditions little worthy of memory.

Shipwreck of Henry's ſon.

A dreadful accident ſoon after diſturbed the proſperity of the Engliſh monarch. Prince William, his only ſon, whom he had juſt procured to be acknowleged his ſucceſſor, was on his return with him to his kingdom. Henry's veſſel arrived ſafely; that of William ſtruck on a rock, by the careleſſneſs of the ſailors, who had drunk to exceſs; the young prince was

was eſcaping in the boat, when, hearing the cries of the counteſs of Perche, his natural ſiſter, he returned to her aſſiſtance. His boat was in a moment filled with people, and ſwallowed up by the waves. About a hundred and forty of the firſt nobility periſhed on this occaſion. The king, inconſolable for the death of a beloved ſon, contracted a ſecond marriage, in hopes of having a ſucceſſor. But his wife brought him no children. His daughter, Matilda, widow of the emperor, Henry the fifth, was his preſumptive heireſs. He gave her to Geoffrey Plantagenet count of Anjou, to detach him from his alliance with the Norman prince. The barons, diſcontented at a marriage on which they had not been conſulted, appeared diſpoſed to revolt. The duke of Normandy, whom Lewis the Groſs had put in poſſeſſion of Flanders, found a favorable opportunity to renew the war. He was killed in battle, and the king delivered from the moſt formidable of his enemies. The laſt years of this reign were only marked by the advantages of a profound tranquillity. Henry paſſed over into Normandy,

A. D. 1127. The king marries his heireſs to the count of Anjou.

mandy, where he had the ſatisfaction to ſee ſeveral children born to the empreſs his daughter. Struck with a violent malady when he was preparing to return, he named her his heireſs without mentioning the count of Anjou, with whom he was diſpleaſed.

Death of Henry the firſt.

England loſt, in 1135, this king, equally brave and politic, who had governed it thirty-four years. If the manner in which he treated his brother and nephew was a great ſtain to his glory, the wiſdom of his government ought in ſome meaſure to efface it. Though jealous like his predeceſſors of his authority, he eaſed his ſubjects on many occaſions; and ſuppreſſed in particular the right of purveyance, which obliged them to furniſh the court with proviſions and carriages on all the journies of the monarch within the kingdom. This prerogative was, during ſeveral ages, one of the heavieſt burthens under which the people groaned. Henry had the addreſs, by a prudent and dextrous conduct, at the ſame time to ſecure the favor of the court of Rome, and maintain the liberties of the national church. He engaged pope Calixtus in a promiſe to

to ſend no legate into England, but at the king's requeſt; others ſay, without a preſſing neceſſity, a clauſe very favorable to the pontiff. Some years after however they received a new legate, at a time when it would have been dangerous to ſend him back as they had done his predeceſſor. After his departure, occaſioned, they ſay, by a ſcandalous adventure, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was entruſted with all the legatine powers; a meaſure which the king did not oppoſe, hoping to maintain his authority over a biſhop of his own kingdom. The legates exerciſed tyrannically the boundleſs power which the popes had arrogated to themſelves. They named to vacant benefices, aſſembled ſynods, fulminated cenſures, and forgot nothing to extend the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

Literature.

Henry the firſt loved literature, and was learned for that age of ſuperſtition and barbariſm. To this he owed the ſurname of *Beauclerc*; the clerks, or eccleſiaſtics, being almoſt the only perſons who had any tincture of letters, this name was given to all who appeared to have any learning. He was ſevere in the exerciſe of juſtice, the

the only means to ſtop the courſe of licentiouſneſs. Robbery was under his reign firſt puniſhed with death. Coining money was made a capital crime. The city of London obtained an advantageous charter, which is regarded as the origin of all its privileges.

## STEPHEN.

A. D. 1135. Rights of Matilda to the crown.

THE fiefs were at firſt regarded as military benefices, which could not deſcend to the females; but ſince they were become family property, the rights of blood had prevailed above the ancient uſage, and the ſucceſſion of Henry belonged inconteſtably to his daughter, the empreſs Matilda. She experienced however, as ſo many others had done, that the moſt legal titles are nothing when the laws are too weak to ſupport them. Two ſons of Adela, daughter to William the Conqueror, and wife to the count of Blois, had obtained, under the late reign, conſiderable eſtabliſhments in England. One of them, named Stephen, count of Bologne,

Uſurpation of Stephen.

Bologne, flattered himſelf that riches and intrigue would, in favor of his ambition, ſupply the place of juſtice. Forgetting all the benefits of Henry in his eagerneſs to ſeize his crown, he had omitted nothing to gain the people, and haſtened to take a deciſive ſtep. His brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the biſhop of Saliſbury, being in his intereſts, ſolicited the primate to crown him. The latter, who had, like them, ſworn obedience and fidelity to Matilda, appeared at firſt more attached to his duty. They employed perjury to ſeduce him. A nobleman took an oath in his preſence, that the late king, on his death bed, declared his intention of giving Stephen the preference to his daughter. The archbiſhop demanded no more, and crowned the uſurper with the accuſtomed ſolemnities; a ceremony capable of determining a people, leſs governed by principles of equity and morality than by thoſe of a weak ſuperſtition.

He is crowned by the primate.

Stephen, finding no reſiſtance, took every ſtep which could tend to eſtabliſh him firmly on the throne. He granted a charter, equally advantageous to the clergy

Equivocal conduct of Stephen.

clergy, and to the different bodies of the nation. He promiſed to the nobility, not to obſtruct their governing paſſion for the chace; to the people, to ſuppreſs the tax of Danegelt, and to re-eſtabliſh the laws of St. Edward. He ſeized Henry's treaſures, amounting to an hundred thouſand pounds [e]: this money he employed to make partizans, to aſſemble mercenary troops, and to render his government deſpotic; for the appearances of goodneſs he had at firſt aſſumed were only the arts of ambition. Normandy ſubmitted to the new monarch. His eldeſt ſon did homage for this province to the king of France, Lewis the Young, who gave him his daughter [f] in marriage. The competitors of the uſurper, and even the count of Anjou, were conſtrained to wave their claims, and accept penſions from Stephen.

Dangerous conceſſions.

The earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon to Henry the firſt, reſolved to defend the rights of Matilda; but, not having yet the means in his power, took the oaths of fidelity to Stephen, on condition however that the king ſhould keep his

[e] Rapin ſays, 100,000 marks.
[f] Hume ſays, his ſiſter.

engage-

engagements, and leave him in poſſeſſion of his dignities, and all other rights. The fear of giving this nobleman a pretext to revolt, made him accept ſo ſuſpicious a condition. The clergy in their oath inſiſted on one not leſs dangerous; that the king ſhould defend the eccleſiaſtical liberties, and maintain the diſcipline of the church. In fine, as every one wiſhed to take advantage of the preſent conjuncture, ſeveral barons reſerved to themſelves the right of fortifying their caſtles, and putting themſelves in a poſture of defence. This was a mortal blow, as well to the royal authority, as to the tranquillity of the public. From this time, fortreſſes were raiſed all over the kingdom; the barons aſſumed to themſelves the rights of civil juriſdiction, of coining money, in ſhort, all the privileges which force can uſurp; and the people were the victims of the wars which their armed lords continually waged with each other.

Fortreſſes of the nobles.

Theſe diſorders became ſo much the more fatal, as Stephen, unable to check the tyranny of the nobles, imitated their example: ſeeing the kingdom in flames, he began himſelf to govern

Troubles in the ſtate.

only by force. The ancient privileges of his ſubjects, the conceſſions which he had juſt made to them, were ſacrificed to the deſire of abſolute dominion. The mercenary troops, which had exhauſted the treaſury, were permitted to ſubſiſt by plunder. At length the diſcontent of the nation encouraged the earl of Glouceſter to ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion. He entered into an alliance with David, king of Scotland. Both ravaged the frontiers. The king gained a complete victory, and thought himſelf peaceable poſſeſſor of the monarchy. Too much confidence engaged him in an unhappy quarrel with the eccleſiaſtical body, the power of which he ought to have known, ſince it had fixed the crown on his head. Two biſhops, following the example of the temporal lords, had erected caſtles. Stephen, experiencing every day how deſtructive this multitude of forts was to the government, reſolved to ſeize thoſe of the clergy, in order in time to proceed to deſtroy thoſe of the nobles. He found a pretext to impriſon the two biſhops, and by menaces obliged them to ſurrender their caſtles into his hands.

Diſpute of the king with the biſhops.

hands. This violence diſpleaſed the biſhop of Wincheſter, his brother, at that time inveſted with the legatine authority, which gave him vaſt power. He convoked a council, claimed the immunities of the church, inveighed againſt the impiety of the king, and exhorted the aſſembly to pronounce ſentence againſt him. They cited the monarch to appear; he ſent a deputy to plead his cauſe, who accuſed the biſhops of treaſon. The council refuſed to try them, till the caſtles were reſtored. They would not have ſtopped there, if they had not been intimidated by the menaces of Stephen to make uſe of force.

Aubrey de Vere.

Theſe violent commotions, and the murmurs of an irritated people, favored the deſigns of Matilda, the lawful heireſs to the crown. She entered the kingdom with the earl of Glouceſter. Her party increaſed daily. A civil war gave birth to all the horrors of cruelty, ſpoil, and famine. After an infinity of little ſkirmiſhes, and ſeveral fruitleſs negotiations, the royal army was defeated by Glouceſter, and the king taken priſoner. The legate declared for Matilda, who promiſed him

Matilda aſſerts her rights.

A. D. 1141.

all that ambition could deſire, all to which the church could pretend. The archbiſhop of Canterbury crowned this princeſs. The ſtates of the kingdom were not aſſembled to diſpoſe of the crown: this was the work of a ſynod, where the perfidious legate, having renewed his declamations againſt Stephen, finiſhed his diſcourſe by aſſerting, that it belonged to the clergy to elect a king, and that heaven decided in favor of the empreſs. There were no laymen in this aſſembly, except the deputies of London; they demanded the king's liberty, and were diſmiſſed with marks of diſapprobation. The city, though unwillingly, ſubmitted. The imperious character of Matilda ſoon excited a deſire of change. London revolted: the princeſs fled; the legate ran to join her at Wincheſter, already reſolved to betray her; he abandoned her, joined his troops to thoſe of his brother, beſieged her in his epiſcopal city, and reduced her to the laſt extremity. Matilda eſcaped, the earl of Glouceſter was made priſoner. The princeſs, unable to act without his aſſiſtance, exchanged him for the king.

The

The death of this brave lord, which happened ſome time after, conſiderably weakened her party. But, beſides the burden of the war, Stephen had on his hands a quarrel with the pope. Eugenius the ſecond had named five Engliſh biſhops to be ſent to the council of Rheims, inſtead of leaving, as was cuſtomary, to the church of England the choice of her deputies. The king oppoſing this innovation, Eugenius fulminated an interdict againſt his partizans: a cenſure of which there had been no example in the kingdom, and which, ſuſpending all the exerciſes of religion, muſt neceſſarily have very dangerous conſequences. They were prevented by the king's ſubmiſſion. An enemy more formidable than all theſe began to enter the liſts with Stephen; this was prince Henry, eldeſt ſon to Matilda, then about ſixteen years old, deſtined to become ſoon one of the firſt ſovereigns in Europe. According to the laws and uſages of chivalry, gentlemen, and even princes, were obliged to be knighted in order to appear with honor in the career of arms. He paſſed into Scotland, to receive

A. D. 1146. The pope interdicts Stephen's partizans.

Prince Henry menaces Stephen.

this mark of diſtinction from the hands of the king, his great uncle. Some incurſions into England made his dexterity and valor known. His whole conduct ſpoke a prince capable of great things; from whence the adherents of his family conceived new hopes. His mother reſigned Normandy to him. The death of Geoffrey his father, put him in poſſeſſion of Maine and Anjou. He acquired Poitou and Guyenne by his marriage with Eleanor, whom Lewis the Young had juſt divorced. This king, engaged by St. Bernard on the ſecond cruſade, which produced only misfortunes, had conceived, during the courſe of this expedition, a violent hatred againſt his queen, who was ſuſpected of gallantry [g]. At his return, this antipathy had carried it againſt good policy. Henry took advantage of his imprudence; and Eleanor, in marrying the latter, revenged herſelf for an affront ſo fatal afterwards to France. The power of the young prince, and the luſtre of his great qualities, ſtruck the Engliſh ſo forcibly, that Stephen deſiring to aſcertain the crown to his ſon Euſtace

[g] With Saladin, a converted Saracen.

the

the archbiſhop of Canterbury refuſed to conſecrate him. Henry delayed not a moment to ſhew himſelf in the kingdom. They were on the eve of a terrible battle, when the barons, to prevent the effuſion of blood, propoſed a negotiation. It was agreed, that Stephen ſhould continue to reign during his life, and that Henry ſhould ſucceed him.

Treaty with Henry.

The king died the following year. Diſquietude, revolts, and wars, had been all the fruits of his uſurpation: ſo much the ambitious deceive themſelves, in attaching the idea of happineſs to that of an exalted fortune. The pontifical authority made great progreſs under this reign. Appeals to the pope, prohibited by the Engliſh laws, became frequent. We ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory to what lengths the abuſe of the ſpiritual power is capable of going, when unreſtrained by the rules which religion itſelf had preſcribed to it in the firſt ages.

Appeals to the pope.

## HENRY the Second.

A. D. 1154. Power of Henry the ſecond.

THE houſe of Plantagenet, or Anjou, eſtabliſhed on the throne of England, became a power ſo much the more formidable to its neighbors, as Henry, to great qualities, joined alſo great dominions. Maſter of Anjou, of Touraine, of Maine, of Normandy, Guyenne, Poitou, Xaintonge, Perigord, of the Angoumois, and Limouzin, to which he afterwards added Britany, he poſſeſſed more than a third of France, and, though a vaſſal of Lewis the Young, had prodigious advantages over him. The feudal government had not divided England into a number of ſtates, powerful enough to enable the vaſſals, at leaſt by uniting, to make head againſt the ſovereign. But in France it had almoſt annihilated the royalty. The domain of the crown was reduced to a few towns.

State of France. Weakneſs of the ſovereign.

The ſix lay peers were enemies formidable to the king, authorized, if aggrieved or oppreſſed, to take arms againſt him, and always ready to reſiſt him

him on the leaſt apprehenſion that his power might weaken theirs. Even the petty lords of caſtles often made war on him; and if we have ſeen the ſubjects united under Lewis the Groſs againſt the emperor Henry the fifth, whom an army of two hundred thouſand French obliged to paſs the Rhine, we have alſo ſeen them refuſe at their return to ſerve the king againſt Henry the firſt his vaſſal. The crown of France ſeemed at this time threatened with intire ruin by the union of all theſe ſtates with that of England. They did not foreſee, what however at length happened, that the aggrandizement of the one would turn to the advantage of the other, and that the French would learn in time to prefer their natural ſovereign to maſters leſs worthy of their love. Lewis the Young, however, who had always favored Stephen, could not prevent Henry from peaceably mounting the throne. The Engliſh, weary of civil wars, willingly acknowledged a king from whoſe great qualities they expected their happineſs. The beginning of his reign juſtified the idea his ſubjects had formed of him; the mercenary troops

Wiſe government of Henry the ſecond.

were diſmiſſed, robberies and violences repreſſed, the laws reſtored to their firſt vigor, the new fortreſſes demoliſhed, the coin reduced to its proper ſtandard, the malecontents obliged to return to their duty. Some military expeditions againſt the Welſh, and againſt an ambitious brother, who attempted to ſeize Main and Anjou, ſerved to make the power of the monarch more known. A diſpute which he had with the duke of Britainy, was terminated by the marriage of one of his ſons with the heireſs of this dutchy, of which he afterwards took poſſeſſion, his ſon and his daughter-in-law being too young to govern at the duke's death. He carried war into the county of Tholouſe, to which he had pretenſions: he even beſieged the capital; but the king of France coming to its ſuccour, he raiſed the ſiege from reſpect to the ſovereign. The fortreſs of Giſors, of which he had fraudulently taken poſſeſſion, would have occaſioned a war between them, if pope Alexander the third had not reconciled them. This pontiff had retired into France, driven from Rome by the anti-pope Victor; and it is worthy

A. D. 1159.

Interview of the kings of France and England with the pope.

worthy of obſervation, that the two kings went to meet him, diſmounted to receive him, and on foot conducted him to the place of conference, each holding one of the reins of his horſe. Nothing ſhews more ſtrongly to what a degree in that age the head of the church was held in reverence. The king of England, notwithſtanding, began to think ſeriouſly of confining the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within juſt bounds, and of reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of thoſe who abuſed it in defiance of the laws of the kingdom. This abuſe was then at its height: the clergy, forgetting that religion ought to be the rampart of civil order, had made uſe of it to free themſelves from the ſubordination neceſſary to maintain it, and to arrogate to themſelves rights which muſt continually diſturb it. From hence aroſe thoſe perpetual diſputes with the ſecular power, thoſe pretended immunities which they oppoſed to the judgements of the courts of law, thoſe pretences to take on themſelves the determination of all cauſes, which had the moſt diſtant relation to the canons, or which could affect the conſcience.

Diſputes with the clergy.

Henry, in the hope of executing his deſign, caſt his eyes on a man whoſe utmoſt aid he promiſed himſelf, and whoſe reſiſtance afterward drew on him terrible vexations.

Thomas Becket.

He had loaded with wealth and honors, and raiſed to the dignity of chancellor, the famous Thomas Becket, a native of London, an eccleſiaſtic of uncommon capacity; who, having ſtudied law at Bologna, had imbibed the opinions of Italy, without however appearing to make them the rule of his conduct in England. The chancellor diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by the ſumptuouſneſs of his houſe and table, as by the greatneſs and variety of his talents: an aſſiduous courtier, a companion of the prince's pleaſures, and even a warrior in the army, for eccleſiaſtics at that time made no ſcruple of engaging in combat.

A. D. 1162.

Henry, full of confidence in a miniſter ſo eager to pleaſe him, named him to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury; not doubting that the primate of the kingdom, the head of the national church, would ſecond his views with the ſame zeal he had ſhewn as chancellor. But Becket became inſtantly another

other man. He quitted the court, reſigned his firſt dignity, renounced political affairs, conciliated the veneration of the people by a retired and penitent life, was profuſe in his charities to convents and the poor, and exchanged the character of a great miniſter for that of a holy and exemplary prelate. The Proteſtants have ſuppoſed that hypocriſy, for the purpoſes of ambition, was the real ſource of this change of manners; as if the firſt principles of thoſe deplorable exceſſes we have to recount, might not as well be found in the prejudices, as in the paſſions, of the human heart.

Diſpute of the king with the primate.

Some bold ſteps of Becket, his ſummoning the earl of Clare to reſtore to him certain lands heretofore dependent on his ſee, a nomination to a benefice to the prejudice of the lay patron, eccleſiaſtical cenſures promulgated againſt that patron, who had driven away the new-appointed incumbent, cruelly undeceived the monarch in regard to the favorable opinion he had entertained of the archbiſhop; but ſerved only to confirm him the more in his deſign of curbing the eccleſiaſtical power. An aſſaſſination

tion committed by a prieſt, furniſhed ſtill ſtronger reaſons. Henry demanded that he ſhould be tried and puniſhed by the magiſtrates. The archbiſhop, inſiſting on the privileges of the clergy, refuſed to conſent to it, and maintained that he ought to be only degraded. The king immediately convened the biſhops, and demanded of them whether they would ſubmit or not to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom: they returned an equivocal anſwer; and at laſt, to calm the prince's anger, agreed to obey them without reſtriction. The moſt eſſential point now, was to define preciſely thoſe cuſtoms, and to fix the limits of the two powers. A new aſſembly of prelates and barons labored this point, by order of the court. They digeſted ſixteen articles in form of laws, of which the principal were, that the eccleſiaſtics, accuſed of crimes, ſhould be judged by the civil tribunals; that no immediate vaſſal of the crown ſhould be excommunicated without the king's conſent; that no perſon, but eſpecially no prelate, ſhould without his permiſſion leave the kingdom; that there ſhould be no appeal

A. D. 1164. Conſtitutions of Clarendon.

to the pope from ſentences paſſed in England; and that diſputes concerning the poſſeſſions of the church ſhould be judged by the royal courts. Theſe are what are generally called, *The conſtitutions of Clarendon*, from the place where the aſſembly was held. The lay lords, being of the party of the court, drew the biſhops with them. The primate himſelf, after much reſiſtance, *promiſed legally, with good faith and without reſerve*, to obſerve all theſe laws; they were ſent to pope Alexander the third, who did not heſitate a moment to condemn and annul them, as incompatible with the rights of the church; Becket now pretended to regard his concurrence as a crime, redoubled his auſterities, ſuſpended himſelf from his functions, and did not reſume them, till he had been abſolved by the pope. The haughty and violent temper of Henry the ſecond was daily more and more irritated, till at length it carried him to the moſt flagrant exceſſes. To this time, he ſeemed to have every advantage over a prelate who ſet himſelf to oppoſe with obſtinacy the ancient laws and uſages of the kingdom; by perſecuting

Becket perſecuted.

ſecuting him, he ceaſed to appear juſt. On a frivolous pretext, he had him condemned, and his goods confiſcated; he demanded of him immenſe ſums, which he was unable to pay; ordered him to render an account of his adminiſtration as chancellor: in ſhort, appeared determined to be guided leſs by juſtice than by the blind impulſe of an odious ſpirit of revenge. The archbiſhop, driven to extremities, diſplayed on his ſide a mind not leſs inflexible. He preſented himſelf in the palace in his pontifical habits, the croſs in his hands, as if to brave the royal majeſty. Some prelates, ſent by the king, vainly remonſtrated to him that he had ſubſcribed to the conſtitutions of Clarendon. He replied, that the cauſe of God and the church rendered that conſent void; that he put himſelf under the protection of the holy ſee; that he would appeal to the pope from any ſentence they might paſs againſt him; and that he forbad them, his ſuffragans, to participate in any ſtep taken againſt his rights. The barons attempted to read to him his ſentence of impriſonment; he refuſed to hear it, and made his eſcape out of the kingdom.

Lewis

Lewis the Young, and pope Alexander the third, who was ſtill in France, received Becket with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect. The firſt gave him a penſion ſufficient to enable him to live magnificently in the monaſtery of Pontigni; the ſecond prepared by his bulls to revenge his quarrel. Henry, foreſeeing the pope's deſign, prohibited under very ſevere penalties any perſon from receiving orders from him, or appealing to him on any occaſion. Enterpriſes of the primate. A. D. 1165.

The primate did not forget his own cauſe: convinced of the king's injuſtice, he ſpoke of him like one more zealous for the church than the crown. At length he publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt his miniſters in particular, and in general againſt all who ſupported the articles of Clarendon. He abſolved the others from their oath to obſerve them; and, as legate, a dignity conferred on him by Alexander, he commanded the Engliſh biſhops to join him in France on pain of an anathema; and wrote a menacing letter to the monarch himſelf. The court of Rome ſuſpended the effects of theſe violent proceedings.

On

He perſiſts in his ſentiments.

On one ſide, Alexander the third, at war with the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, feared to draw on himſelf another enemy, powerful as the king of England: on the other, this prince, abſolute as he was, was unwilling to expoſe himſelf to thoſe revolutions which the eccleſiaſtical thunder had ſo often occaſioned in other ſtates. Unhappily Becket's obſtinacy equaled the haughtineſs of Henry. Lewis the Young, who had juſt concluded a treaty with the latter, endeavored in vain to bring about an accommodation. Henry accepted the conditions, *ſaving the royal authority*; Becket, *ſaving the honor of God, and the liberties of the church*. This clauſe broke all meaſures. The monarch ſaid one day in the preſence of Lewis, "*There have been many kings of England, there have been alſo many archbiſhops of Canterbury: let Becket act, in reſpect to me, with that ſubmiſſion which the moſt holy of his predeceſſors have ſhewn to the leaſt of mine; I aſk no more.*" The archbiſhop's refuſal alienated the king of France from his intereſts, but they ſoon renewed their friendſhip.

This

This important quarrel ſeemed at length terminated by a compromiſe extremely favorable to Becket. He was obliged to renounce none of his pretenſions; it was agreed to bury theſe delicate queſtions in oblivion. The primate's friends were with the ſame circumſpection reinſtated in their benefices. The king flattered himſelf, he had either ſoftened this inflexible temper, or purchaſed peace by his condeſcenſion. He deceived himſelf. Becket was no ſooner returned triumphant into England, than he fulminated new cenſures, eſpecially againſt the archbiſhop of York, who had crowned in his abſence the eldeſt ſon of Henry, whom that prince had prudently aſſociated in the government; and againſt two biſhops and ſeveral lords who had been preſent. He pretended that no other could, even in his abſence, perform a ceremony, reſerved to the archbiſhops of Canterbury. The king, hearing this at Bayeux, delivered himſelf to all the tranſports of rage: "*What! ſaid he, will no one of my ſervants revenge me on an ungrateful prieſt, who troubles the quiet of my kingdom?*" Leſs than A. D. 1170.

than this was ſufficient to courtiers. Four gentlemen of his train embarked inſtantly, and aſſaſſinated the prelate at the altar [*b*].

Thus died this extraordinary man; zealous, pious, intrepid, honored as a ſaint under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury; a victim to his firmneſs in a cauſe which he ſuppoſed juſt; influenced no doubt by right intentions, but, at the ſame time, by deſtructive prejudices: a memorable example of the empire of opinion on ſuperior minds, of the influence of temperament on the conduct of virtuous hearts, and of the danger of thoſe falſe principles which ignorance and ſelf-intereſt have ſubſtituted to the maxims of true religion. When the eccleſiaſtical and civil powers become irreconcileable, all is diſorder and confuſion in ſociety [*i*].

[*b*] In the church of St. Benedict, in Canterbury.

[*i*] This was the tragical end of Thomas à Becket, a prelate of the moſt lofty, intrepid, and inflexible ſpirit, who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himſelf, the enterprizes of pride and ambition, under the diſguiſes of ſanctity and of zeal for the intereſts of piety and religion: an extraordinary perſonage, ſure-

The

A. D. 1171.

The king submits to the judgement of the pope.

The king, who had not really wiſhed this murder, and who foreſaw the conſequences, appeared abſorbed in deſpair, and during three days refuſed all nouriſhment. The dread of an excommunication made this haughty heart tremble. Come at length to himſelf, he haſtened to ſend away eight perſons, three of whom were biſhops, to juſtify him to the pope, and to ſtop the thunders of Rome. They aſſerted on oath the prince's innocence, undertook he ſhould ſubmit to Alexander's judgement; and this pontiff, though violently irritated, was ſatisfied with pronouncing a general anathema againſt all the authors and accomplices of the aſſaſſination. The archbiſhop of Sens, as legate, had laid

ly, had be been allowed to remain in his firſt ſtation, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the ſupport of law and juſtice; inſtead of being engaged, by the prejudices of the times, to ſacrifice all private duties and public connexions to ties, which he imagined, or repreſented, as ſuperior to every civil and political conſideration. But no man, who enters into the genius of that age, can doubt of this prelate's ſincerity: the ſpirit of ſuperſtition was ſo prevalent, that it infallibly caught every careleſs reaſoner, much more every one whoſe intereſt, and honor, and ambition, were engaged to ſupport it. HUME.

the provinces of France which belonged to the Engliſh under an interdict; but Henry's negotiation with the pope prevented the revolts and diſturbances that were to be apprehended; a precaution the more neceſſary, as the aſſaſſinated archbiſhop was never mentioned by any names but thoſe of ſaint and martyr. All devotion had now his tomb for its object; they ran thither from all parts in pilgrimage, they publiſhed miracles without number, and there was danger this zeal might turn to enthuſiaſm.

A. D. 1172. Ireland conquered.

In this critical conjuncture, the king, re-aſſured by the pope's conduct, executed an important deſign, which he had formed from the beginning of his reign. The conqueſt of Ireland tempted his ambition. The Britons had heretofore peopled this iſland, as the Celtes had peopled Great-Britain. But the Iriſh were ſtill ſavages; without government, without laws, without morals, without arts, ignorant even of agriculture; divided into little ſtates continually at war with each other; as eaſy to conquer by diſciplined troops, as difficult

difficult to unite and govern in one nation.

Adrian the third, an Engliſhman, acting agreeably to the ſyſtem of the popes, who pretended a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms, had granted, in 1156, to Henry a bull, by which, praiſing his zeal for the church, and attributing his project to the deſire of ſpreading religion, he exhorted him to take poſſeſſion of Ireland, on condition he enforced the payment of Peterpence; and commanded the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their ſovereign. 'Tis thus that the Indies and America have been ſince ſubdued by virtue of bulls from Rome. The opportunity at length arrived, to make uſe of this pretended title. One of the little ſovereigns of Ireland, driven out by a neighboring prince, whoſe wife he had carried off, implored Henry's protection. The king, who was then detained in France by important affairs, could no further aſſiſt him than by authorizing his ſubjects to undertake the cauſe of the exiled prince. Several adventurers engaged in the enterprize; and, with a ſmall number of ſoldiers, eaſily defeated

The pope's bull for this conqueſt.

feated whole armies of barbarians. Jealous of their progreſs, the monarch went in perſon to attack Ireland; he had only the trouble to receive the homage of a people already ſubdued. A few months ſufficed for the conqueſt of this kingdom, which has ever ſince remained united to the crown of England. But the extreme poverty of the country did not tempt the Engliſh to make eſtabliſhments; and, barbariſm and licentiouſneſs of manners ſtill maintaining their ground, they reaped no advantage from this conqueſt till the reign of James the firſt, who eſtabliſhed laws and order amongſt them.

Accommodation with Rome.

At this time two legates of Alexander the third, empowered to examine the king's conduct in the affair of St. Thomas of Canterbury, waited for him in Normandy, and with menaces preſſed his return thither. Their firſt propoſals appeared odious; he rejected them haughtily. As the public ferment had ſubſided, and the people, ſo formidable in the firſt emotions of fanaticiſm, had no longer the ſame inclination to revolt, the legates became leſs intractable. They agreed to the following

following conditions: after the king had ſworn on the relicks of the ſaints, that he had neither wiſhed nor commanded the murder of the archbiſhop, to which he had, however, given occaſion by a very blameable expreſſion, he promiſed to pay a ſum of money for the maintenance of two hundred knights templars in Paleſtine, during one year; to ſerve himſelf three years againſt the infidels, if the pope required it; not to enforce the *new* cuſtoms introduced in his reign to the prejudice of the eccleſiaſtical immunities; not to hinder appeals to the holy ſee, and to demand only of ſuch as left the kingdom to proſecute theſe appeals, ſufficient ſecurities for their behaviour. The dexterity of Henry appeared on this occaſion in the ſtrongeſt light. By the ſureties which he might judge neceſſary, he had the power to render appeals to Rome almoſt impoſſible; the conſtitutions of Clarendon might ſtill be maintained, ſince he pretended they were the *ancient* cuſtoms of the kingdom. It is ſcarce conceivable how he was able to extricate himſelf, with ſo much

Conditions propoſed by the king.

advantage, from ſo perplexing a ſituation.

Revolt of Henry's children.

Fortune waited the moment when he was at the height of proſperity, to plunge him into an abyſs of evils. This great king, the conqueror of all his enemies, ſurrounded by children from whom he promiſed himſelf the ſweets of domeſtic happineſs, found in the boſom of his family the moſt bitter chagrins. His eldeſt ſon, Henry, diſplayed on the day of his coronation, a haughty and arrogant ſpirit. The king, who condeſcended to ſerve him at table, having obſerved that no monarch had ever been more honorably attended: "*it is not extraordinary*, ſaid the young prince to one of his courtiers, *that the ſon of a count ſhould ſerve the ſon of a king.*"

This auguſt ceremony was repeated in compliment to Margaret of France, wife to this prince, who had not been crowned with him the firſt time. Young Henry afterwards viſited Lewis, his father-in-law, who was ever too ready to diſtreſs the king of England. They perſuaded him in France, that his having been crowned had given him a right to enjoy part at leaſt of the

A. D. 1173.

the inheritance which it was intended to ſecure to him. Full of this frivolous idea, he dared to demand on his return, that Henry the ſecond ſhould reſign to him either England or Normandy, complained inſolently of his refuſal, and put himſelf under the protection of Lewis. At the ſame time the queen of England, Eleanor, jealous even to madneſs of her huſband, hurried two of her other ſons into rebellion, and perſuaded them to take refuge in the court of France. Richard, the elder, had received of his father the inveſtiture of Guyenne and Poitou; the youngeſt, Geoffry, held the dutchy of Britany in right of his wife. Senſibly affected by theſe misfortunes, the king was only the more active to prepare againſt the danger. The cenſures of Rome had generally produced ſuch effects, that he had recourſe to this expedient, of which he had felt all the inconvenience. The pope, though in vain, excommunicated the rebels. Henry employed other arms; having little confidence in his ſubjects, who were one day to obey his children, he raiſed an army of twenty thouſand *Bra-*

*bançons*, called alſo *Routiers* or *Cotteraux*, an audacious banditti, who infeſted moſt of the European ſtates, deſpiſing eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and fighting for any prince who choſe to take them into pay. Lewis the Young, and ſeveral of his vaſſals, with William king of Scotland, declared openly for prince Henry. The Engliſh monarch, by his expeditions on the continent, greatly weakened their hopes.

Conferences were held. He propoſed to cede to his ſon half the revenues of his kingdom, and even to grant him places of ſurety. So advantageous an offer ought to have terminated the war; but a nobleman [*k*], who was preſent at the conference, having inſulted the king, the negotiation was broke off.

Young Henry had promiſed the earl of Flanders to put into his hands the whole county of Kent, the town of Dover, and other places of the laſt importance. This treaty, equally ſhameful and deſtructive, did not hinder the Engliſh nobility from conſpiring in his favor.

[*k*] The earl of Leiceſter.

The

The invaſion of the Scots cauſed new alarms. The monarch returned ſuddenly into the kingdom. To gain the affection of his people (for every other motive appears to contradict probability), he gave to England the ſpectacle of an humiliation to which the authority of the popes had never been able to reduce him. He walked barefoot to the cathedral at Canterbury, proſtrated himſelf before Becket's tomb, paſſed a day and a night there in prayers, aſſembled the monks the next morning, put into the hands of each a ſcourge of diſcipline, bared his ſhoulders, and ſubmitted to be laſhed by every one of them. True devotion has more reſpect to decency and propriety. A. D. 1174. Penance of the king.

Intelligence ſoon after arrived of a battle gained againſt the king of Scotland. This great ſucceſs was attributed to the protection of the ſaint: this perſuaſion, ſpread over all the nation, compleatly ſtifled the ſpirit of rebellion. Henry paſſed immediately into France, to defend Normandy againſt the enterpriſes of Lewis the Young. He triumphs over his enemies.

This prince beſieged Rouen, and raiſed the ſiege, after having attempted in vain to ſurpriſe the place on a feſtival [*l*]. They again entered into a negotiation. The three rebellious ſons of Henry at length ſubmitted to their father. He granted penſions to them, and pardon to all their adherents. William, king of Scotland, who had been taken priſoner, purchaſed his liberty by acknowledging himſelf a vaſſal to the king of England, and engaged his barons and biſhops [*m*] to

Homage of the king of Scotland.

[*l*] The place was defended with great vigor by the inhabitants; and Lewis, deſpairing of ſucceſs by open force, tried to gain the town by a ſtratagem, which, in that ſuperſtitious age, was deemed very little honorable. He proclaimed in his own camp a ceſſation of arms, on pretence of celebrating the feſtival of St. Laurence; and when the citizens, ſuppoſing themſelves in ſafety, were ſo imprudent as to remit their guard, he propoſed to take advantage of their ſecurity. Happily, ſome prieſts had, from mere curioſity, mounted a ſteeple, where the alarm bell hung; and obſerving the French camp in motion, they immediately rung the bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their ſeveral ſtations. HUME.

[*m*] That prince being releaſed, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, do

do him homage. The caſtle of Edinburgh was put into the hands of the Engliſh [*n*].

The advantages of peace were the more ſenſibly felt, as the king gave himſelf up entirely ſome years to the care of reforming abuſes, and reſtoring juſtice and the laws to their full vigor. We ſhall poſtpone to the end of this article ſome details of his wiſe regulations. A peaceful and equitable government ought to have rendered him more happy than his vaſt poſſeſſions had hitherto done. But it was the fate of this prince to experience all the ſorrows which a bad ſon can cauſe to a good father. Lewis the Young being dead, after a pilgrimage to Canterbury, Philip Auguſtus his ſucceſſor, a prince politic and ambitious, in the flower of his age, favored, 'tis too probable, the deſigns of theſe unnatural children. Prince Henry renewed his pretenſions, revolted, and fell dangerouſly ill, whilſt he was preparing to make war againſt the king. In this

New revolts of the king's children.

and acknowledged him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord. HUME.

[*n*] Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxborough, and Jedborough. HUME.

ſtate, torn with remorſe, he ſent to entreat his father to come and receive the teſtimonies of his repentance. Henry apprehended ſome treaſon; but when informed of the prince's death, his ſorrow was exceſſive, he fainted ſeveral times, and was inconſolable for having refuſed him this mark of indulgence. Richard was heir to his brother, who died without poſterity. Henry wiſhed to give Guyenne as an appanage to John his youngeſt ſon. Richard not only refuſed his conſent, but fled, determined to take arms. This quarrel was ſcarce accommodated, when Geoffrey demanded that Anjou ſhould be annexed to his dutchy of Britany. The king's refuſal rendered him furious. He paſſed into France, determined to revenge himſelf by a war. He was killed there in a tournament, and this accident delivered the unhappy father from the enterprizes of the moſt wicked of his ſons. His paternal tenderneſs had yet ſevere trials to ſuſtain.

A. D. 1188. The cruſade.

All intereſts, all affairs, ſeemed now abſorbed in the general zeal for the cruſades. The expedition of Lewis the Young, and the emperor Conrad, had

had only ſerved to make two hundred thouſand Europeans periſh miſerably in Aſia. The brave and prudent Saladin, ſultan of Egypt, had conquered Paleſtine, and taken Jeruſalem. The ardor of the warriors, and enthuſiaſm of the people, for the holy war, was rekindled. Henry the ſecond, and Philip Auguſtus, forgot their quarrels, took the croſs in concert, and impoſed a heavy tax called the Saladin tenth, from which the clergy pretended an exemption, notwithſtanding the many motives which obliged them to ſet the example. During theſe tranſactions the two kings quarrelled, made war on each other, and again renewed their negotiations. Philip demanded that Richard ſhould be crowned king of England, and immediately eſpouſe Alice of France, his ſiſter, who was in England, whither ſhe had been ſent in order to this marriage. The old king, in love, it is ſaid, with this princeſs, repenting alſo of having crowned his eldeſt ſon, rejected ſo diſagreable a propoſal. Richard ſecretly entered into an alliance with Philip, rebelled once more againſt his father, did homage to the king of France,

A. D. 1189. Revolt of Richard.

and received from him the inveſtiture for the provinces which Henry poſſeſſed on the continent. The pope's legate excommunicated him for raiſing obſtacles to the holy war. The French monarch, threatened with the ſame cenſures, replied, the pope had no right to interfere in the diſputes of princes. Their minds grew inflamed: Henry took arms; his enemies conquered ſeveral places from him. He ſaw himſelf reduced to very diſhonorable conditions; he not only promiſed twenty thouſand marks to Philip Auguſtus, but engaged to make all his ſubjects take the oath of fidelity to Richard: he pardoned the adherents of this rebellious ſon, and authorized his vaſſals to take arms againſt him, if he did not faithfully execute this treaty. To fill up the meaſure of his misfortunes, having demanded a liſt of the rebels comprized in the amneſty, he ſaw at their head, the name of Prince John, his youngeſt and beſt-beloved ſon, his tenderneſs for whom had often excited the jealouſy of Richard. His ſoul was no longer able to bear up againſt ſo many miſeries: in his deſpair,

ſpair, he curſed his being, he loaded with maledictions his unnatural children; a ſlow fever conſumed him, he died [o], after a reign of thirty-four years, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. The number of his great qualities infinitely ſurpaſſed that of his vices: ambitious, choleric, vindictive; but brave, prudent, politic, generous; a wiſe legiſlator, a faithful friend; worthy, in ſhort, notwithſtanding his faults and his misfortunes, of holding a diſtinguiſhed rank amongſt the kings of England. So high was the general idea of his love of juſtice, that the kings of Caſtile and Navarre choſe him arbitrator of their differences, though the former was his ſon-in-law; and his deciſion was received with equal acquieſcence by both. He firſt eſtabliſhed the circuits, or four diviſions of the kingdom, into which he ſent judges, reſpectable for their abilities and dignity of character, to protect the people againſt the oppreſſion of the great. An eſtabliſhment reſembling that of Charlemagne for the ſame purpoſe.

Death of Henry the ſecond.

Henry the ſecond made very ſevere laws againſt murder, robbery, falſe

Laws, juſtice.

[o] At the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur.

money, &c. theſe crimes were puniſhed by the amputation of a limb, a ſentence which was probably regarded as much more dreadful than death itſelf. Experience had ſhewn that pecuniary compenſations could never prevent crimes. The trial by duel, as well as by ordeal, continued a long time after, becauſe the nation remained long plunged in ſuperſtition. It was a great indulgence then, to permit either of the parties to have recourſe to a jury of twelve perſons. A murder committed *by* an eccleſiaſtic, was only puniſhed by degradation; and *on* one, by excommunication and penance. Thus the murderers of Becket were only obliged to go to Rome, to ſolicit the pope's abſolution, and to ſubmit to the penance which he impoſed on them. The conſtitutions of Clarendon ſubjecting the clergy, when criminals, to the judgement of the ſecular tribunals, the king, from a principal of equity, ordained that the murderers of a prieſt ſhould ſubmit to the common puniſhment of murder, and that his goods, as an additional puniſhment, ſhould be confiſcated. 'Tis ſaid that from the beginning

ginning of this prince's reign to the time when his diſputes with the archbiſhop commenced, there had been an hundred aſſaſſinations committed by prieſts with impunity. It was therefore neceſſary to reſtrain ſuch horrible licentiouſneſs, and to aboliſh immunities of ſo dangerous a nature. Another very equitable law prohibited the ſeizing a vaſſal's effects for the debts of his lord, unleſs the former had been ſurety, and ordered that the vaſſal's rents ſhould be paid, not to the lord, but to his creditors.

How defective muſt have been the government of a ſtate where ſuch laws were neceſſary! The barbarous cuſtom of confiſcating veſſels which were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt was now intirely aboliſhed. It is obſervable that the ſovereign enacted theſe laws, without the participation of the ſtates; ſo much had the royal authority prevailed over the ancient Saxon cuſtoms.

Eſtabliſhment of regular armies. Taxes.

Amongſt the numberleſs abuſes of the feudal government, one of the greateſt was the nature of armies. The extreme ſlowneſs of the vaſſals in arming, their ſpirit of independence, the ſhort time they were obliged to ſerve

ſerve (only forty days) rendered theſe armies often leſs uſeful than dangerous. This conſideration determined the king to make a very important innovation. He accepted money in lieu of military ſervice, and hired troops of whom he could diſpoſe at his pleaſure. This practice, carried much further by his ſucceſſors, contributed greatly to change the face of the government. Under this reign was firſt levied a general tax on all kinds of goods, and on all perſons without exception; the devotion of the cruſades ſubjected England to a burthen which time has continually augmented.

Manners. As the Engliſh and Normans now formed only one nation, united to the people on the continent by general intereſts, and an uninterrupted correſpondence, the kingdom acquired the little politeneſs and knowledge which an age ſo uncultivated and dark afforded. Chivalry was not the moſt perfect ſchool of morals, the ſciences were yet leſs ſo of truth and wiſdom. A quarrel between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, in 1176, gives us a very lively idea of the public manners. Theſe two prelates diſputed

Quarrel of the two prelates.

the precedence in a public aſſembly of the clergy, where a legate preſided. The prieſts and monks who were in the train of the primate, fell upon the archbiſhop of York, threw him on the ground, loaded him with blows, and it was with difficulty he was reſcued, half dead, out of their hands. The archbiſhop of Canterbury made up this affair, by paying a conſiderable ſum of money to the legate [*p*].

[*p*] This king left only two legitimate ſons, Richard, who ſucceeded him, and John, who inherited no territory; though his father had often intended to leave him a part of his extenſive dominions. He was thence commonly denominated *Lackland*. Henry left three legitimate daughters; Maud born in 1156, and married to Henry duke of Saxony; Eleanor born in 1162, and married to Alphonſo king of Caſtile; Joan born in 1165, and married to William king of Sicily. Henry is ſaid by antient hiſtorians to have been of a very amorous diſpoſition; and they mention two of his natural ſons by Roſamond, daughter of lord Clifford, viz. Richard Longeſpee or Long ſword (ſo called from the ſword he uſually wore), who was afterwards married to Ela daughter and heireſs of the Earl of Saliſbury, and Geoffrey, firſt biſhop of Lincoln, and then archbiſhop of York. All the other circumſtances of the ſtory commonly told of that lady, ſeem to be fabulous. HUME.

RICHARD

## RICHARD the Firſt.

A. D. 1189. Remorſe of Richard.

THE dead body of Henry the ſecond having guſhed out with blood when Richard came to render him the laſt duties, the young prince was ſo ſtruck by the circumſtance, that he accuſed himſelf of being his father's murderer. He determined to repair, as much as was poſſible, by his future conduct, his revolts againſt a parent whoſe memory he had in reverence. If ſuperſtition, as it is probable, had any ſhare in theſe ſentiments, they were notwithſtanding worthy of religion and nature. The king, far from rewarding the authors or accomplices of the crime with which he reproached himſelf, expreſſed for them only hatred and contempt. He gave his confidence to thoſe miniſters of Henry who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their fidelity and zeal. Unhappily theſe wiſe actions were not built on the ſolid baſis of judgement and true virtue. It was ſoon ſeen that Richard acted rather from the ſudden impulſe of inclination or caprice, than from fixed and

and regular principles. He not only reſtored queen Eleanor to liberty, though guilty of the rebellion of the princes againſt their father, but entruſted her with the government of the kingdom in his abſence. He granted to prince John, ſix earldoms, with immenſe poſſeſſions; an act of generoſity both exceſſive and dangerous. The cruſade which he intended to undertake, threatened him with ſtill greater evils.

Maſſacre of the Jews.

The hatred of the Chriſtians to the Jews increaſed in proportion to their zeal for the holy land. This people, every where deſpiſed and deteſted, made themſelves amends by induſtry for the hard treatment they experienced. Their uſury, like their riches, furniſhed a pretence to new violences. Some of the Jews having appeared at the coronation of the king, though ſtrictly prohibited by a proclamation, the people firſt maſſacred thoſe that were preſent, and afterwards extended their fury to the reſt; their houſes were plundered, and reduced to aſhes: the richer citizens, the rage of money being the moſt powerful in theſe wretches, were, though Chriſtians, confounded

founded in the carnage. The example of London kindled in many other cities the rage and avidity of the populace. Five hundred Jews took refuge in the caſtle of York, where, reduced to deſpair, they murdered their wives and children, and, after having thrown the bodies to their enemies, ſet fire to the houſes, and threw themſelves into the midſt of the flames. The king's authority could not hinder theſe horrible diſorders; it was not even poſſible to puniſh them with ſeverity. The licentiouſneſs of the commonalty was then above all laws. Richard breathed nothing but war, and burnt to ſignalize himſelf in Paleſtine. He was drawn thither more by a martial ardor than a ſincere devotion. His true ſentiments were clearly ſeen by his famous reply to Fulk, curate of Neuilly, the preacher of the third cruſade. The miſſionary one day exhorting him to diſmiſs his three favorite daughters (as he expreſſed himſelf), avarice, impurity, and pride, who expoſed him to the danger of damnation; *'Tis well*, ſaid he: *I give pride to the templars, avarice to the monks, and*

Preparation for the cruſades.

The king's vices.

*and impurity to the prelates of my kingdom.* To his paſſion for this enterpriſe, he ſacrificed the true intereſts of his crown, and that of his people. He exacted rigorouſly new impoſts; he forced the rich to make him exorbitant loans: he ſold domains, offices, and dignities, even that of chief juſticiary, which the biſhop of Durham purchaſed for a thouſand marks; he was ready, he declared, to ſell London, if he could find a purchaſer; he commuted for money the ſervice of thoſe who repented having undertaken the cruſade; he carried his indiſcretion ſo far, as to ſell to the king of Scotland his right, as lord paramount, over that kingdom, with the important fortreſſes of Roxborough and Berwick; in ſhort, the moſt valuable of his father's acquiſitions. The biſhops of Durham and Ely were appointed regents of the kingdom. The latter was a Norman of low birth, of a dangerous and violent character, whom the power of legate, with which he was inveſted, armed with redoubled authority, to the great misfortune of the nation [*q*].

Exactions: infamous ſales.

[*q*] He was alſo chancellor.

After

Departure of the kings of France and England.

After theſe imprudent ſteps, the king ſet out to meet Philip Auguſtus, who waited his arrival at Vezelay in Burgundy. They here reiterated their aſſurances of friendſhip and mutual fidelity during the cruſade. They embarked, the one at Marſeilles, the other at Genoa, not caring to expoſe themſelves to the perfidy of the Greeks. Contrary winds detained them ſeveral months at Meſſina [r].

They quarrel.

There began thoſe fatal broils which it was ſo eaſy to foreſee. Two youthful kings, full of haughtineſs, of fire, of ambition, of courage, rivals in glory and in power, were naturally but too much diſpoſed to profane the holy war by their perſonal diſputes. Tancred, king of Sicily, or rather the uſurper of this crown, fearing them both, contrived to ſow between them the ſeeds of diſcord. The moſt important point on which they diſſented, was the marriage of Richard with Alice of France, a marriage which he had made a pretext to rebel againſt his father,

[r] Both fleets were obliged by diſtreſs of weather to ſeek ſhelter in the port of Meſſina, where they wintered.

and

and which notwithſtanding he would not now ſuffer to be named. Warmly preſſed on this article, he at length produced full proof that Alice had born a child to Henry. Philip no longer inſiſted, prudent enough to bury his ſiſter's ſhame in ſilence. The Engliſh monarch eſpouſed the daughter of the king of Navarre [s]. He conducted her into Paleſtine, where he gave her ſoon a rival [t]. The cruſaders knew how to join devotion with debauchery of manners.

The emperor Frederic, who had ſet out before the two kings, at the head of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, was dead, by bathing in the Cydnus during the exceſſive heats; and his army was reduced to eight thouſand, under his ſon Conrad. Theſe troops, in conjunction with the Chriſtians of Aſia, had, during near two years, formed the ſiege of the celebrated city of Acre, when the kings of France and England, reconciled for a time, arrived with a formidable army of one A. D. 1191.

[s] Berengaria.

[t] The princeſs of Cyprus, who accompanied her to Paleſtine.

hundred

hundred thouſand combatants. Theſe illuſtrious rivals, fired with emulation, glorioufly ſignalized their bravery: but animoſity and jealouſy ſoon embittered them more than ever againſt each other. Acre, however, ſubmitted. Philip [*u*], overwhelmed with maladies, diſguſted with the cruſade, attracted, perhaps, by political hopes, repaſſed into Europe without intereſting himſelf further about the expedition; leaving ten thouſand of his troops to Richard, after renewing his oath of attempting nothing againſt him in his abſence. He is accuſed of having, on his arrival in Italy, endeavored to obtain of the pope a diſpenſation of this vow, which ambition and hatred ſoon inſtigated him to violate. The king of England heightened his reputation by prodigies of valor. He gained a great victory againſt

[*u*] Philip, inſtead of purſuing the hopes of further conqueſt, and redeeming the holy city from ſlavery, being diſguſted with the aſcendant aſſumed by Richard, and having views of many advantages which he might reap by his preſence in Europe, declared his reſolution of returning into France, and he pleaded his bad ſtate of health as an excuſe for his deſertion of the common cauſe. HUME.

Saladin;

Saladin; but the ardor of the cruſaders being abated by time and the fatigues of the war, and the greater part forgetting Jeruſalem to ſigh after Europe, he was compelled to conclude a truce with the ſultan, who willingly permitted the pilgrimage to the holy places. Saladin ſurpaſſed all the princes of the cruſade in humanity, moderation, learning, and wiſdom. The laſt action of his life would have been admired in the moſt conſummate pattern of Chriſtian virtue. He commanded his winding ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through the ſtreets of Damaſcus; a herald having orders to walk before, and proclaim aloud, "*Behold all that remains of the great Saladin, the conqueror of Aſia.*" In his laſt will he ordered alms to be given to the poor, Jews, Chriſtians, and Mahometans without diſtinction. Saladin.

England, after the king's departure, was filled with diſturbances. Longchamp biſhop of Ely, the pope's legate, as inſolent as his birth ought to have rendered him humble, diſdaining to ſhare authority with his collegue in the regency, cauſed the biſhop of Durham to be arreſted, and governed State of the kingdom.

governed alone with all the pomp and imperiouſneſs of a deſpotic monarch. Richard, informed of his tyrannical conduct, appointed him counſellors, whoſe advice he commanded him to purſue. But the miniſter inſpired too much terror, to meet with reſiſtance. His repeated acts of violence irritated the nation to ſuch a degree, that prince John, the king's brother, at length aſſembled the biſhops and nobles, and cited him to appear before them. The haughty Norman was compelled to fly. They deſpoiled him of his office of chancellor, but that of legate left him ſtill power to diſturb the public quiet. Theſe circumſtances favored the ambitious deſigns of Philip Auguſtus. He was too much diſpoſed, notwithſtanding his oaths, to take advantage of the abſence of a rival, whoſe great exploits augmented his jealouſy. An unforeſeen event furniſhed him with an opportunity to declare himſelf.

The king made priſoner in Germany.

The king of England, knowing the ſtate of his kingdom, and the ſiniſter deſigns of Philip, being alſo without hopes to conquer Jeruſalem with his own troops alone, haſtened his return, which

which became every day more neceſſary. He was ſhipwrecked at Aquileia, and took the road of Germany, in the diſguiſe of a pilgrim. He was eaſily known. The duke of Auſtria had him arreſted, from reſentment of an ancient quarrel, which they had had at the ſiege of Acre, and at length delivered him into the hands of the emperor Henry the ſixth, his enemy. A Chriſtian prince was not aſhamed to load with chains, and confine in priſon, the hero of the cruſade. A. D. 1193.

At this news, Philip raiſed a calumnious accuſation againſt Richard, repreſenting him as the murderer of the marquis of Montferrat, who had been killed by the ſubjects of the *old man of the mountain*; a name given to a petty prince of the Aſſaſſins [x], a fanatical nation in Aſia, who, braving death, made it a duty to aſſaſſinate, even at the extremities of Europe, whoever this barbarian choſe to proſcribe. Under this frivolous pretext, he perſuaded his vaſſals, that his vow of not invading the dominions of a prince engaged in the cruſade, no Conduct of Philip.

[x] From hence the word Aſſaſſin.

longer regarded the king of England. He concluded a treaty with prince John, at once an unnatural brother and a perfidious ſubject; the latter ceded a great part of Normandy, received the inveſtiture of the other French provinces under the Engliſh dominion, and even, according to ſome hiſtorians, did homage for the crown, to Philip Auguſtus. The French ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral cities, and menaced Rouen; but as the time for which the vaſſals were obliged to ſerve was near expiring, he concluded a truce with the Engliſh, who engaged to pay him twenty thouſand marks, and to put into his hands four caſtles as ſecurity. Whilſt ſuch unjuſt advantage was taken of Richard's ſituation, this unhappy king ſuffered in Germany the moſt ſhocking outrages. He ſaw himſelf accuſed before the diet of the empire, and charged in particular with the murder with which they reproached him in France. After having juſtified himſelf in the moſt eloquent manner, though with ſome degree of ſubmiſſion, he complained of the ſhameful violence that had been committed againſt him, in ſpite

Richard unworthily treated by the emperor.

ſpite of his zeal for Chriſtianity. The pope began at length to declare loudly in his favor. Henry the ſixth entered into a treaty for his ranſom, and demanded an hundred and fifty thouſand marks, of which an hundred were to be paid before the priſoner was delivered up: the Engliſh eagerly preſſed to furniſh the money. Richard, as ſoon as he left the priſon, loſt not a moment to withdraw himſelf out of the reach of the emperor's perfidy, who was baſe enough ſtill to intend to detain him, and ſell his liberty to the king of France and prince John. Philip wrote thus to the latter: *Take care of yourſelf, the devil is unchained.*

A. D. 1194. War with France.

A ſovereign leſs haughty, leſs impetuous than Richard, would with difficulty have prevailed on himſelf to pardon Philip. The Engliſh monarch, furious, and breathing only vengeance, paſſed ſoon into Normandy, at the head of an army. The war between theſe two terrible rivals produced nothing memorable; ſo little adapted was the feudal anarchy to great enterpriſes. In the courſe of this expedition, John, a prince equally de-

ſtitute of courage and of honor, betrayed the king of France, as he had already done the king of England. Having invited to dinner all the officers in the garriſon of Evreux, where he commanded, he ordered them to be maſſacred during the repaſt, and, in hopes of making his peace, delivered up the place to his brother. Queen Eleanor having obtained this prince's pardon, "*I pardon him*, ſaid the king, *and I hope to forget his injuries as eaſily as he will my clemency*."

Philip loſt in an action the records of the crown. The two kings concluded treaties which Richard broke as ſoon as made. There were continually ſmall engagements, and ſieges of little importance, which however exerciſed the valor of both nations. The biſhop of Beauvais, of the houſe of Dreux, having been taken fighting, Richard retained him priſoner. As the pope inſtantly demanded his liberty, calling him his ſon, and inſiſting on the rights of the church, he ſent to the holy father the prelate's bloody coat of mail with theſe words of the ſcripture, *Know now whether it be thy ſon's coat or no.* They relate

late this as one of the principal events of the war. It was ended by the mediation of a legate.

A. D. 1199. Death of Richard.

The death of Richard was worthy of him. He beſieged the caſtle of Chalus in the Limouſin, to get poſſeſſion of a treaſure which had been diſcovered by the lord of the place, his vaſſal. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but he replied, "That as he had taken the pains to come in perſon to attack the place, he would enter it by force, and hang them all on the breach." He was the ſame day wounded with an arrow, ſtormed the caſtle, and ordered the whole garriſon to be hanged, except the ſoldier who had wounded him, whom he reſerved to a more cruel puniſhment. The wound being become dangerous, Gourdon (the name of the archer) was brought before the king. *What have I done to thee, wretch,* ſaid he, *that thou ſhouldeſt wiſh to kill me? What have you done to me?* replied Gourdon coolly. *You have killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers, and have reſolved to hang me. I am now in your power. Revenge yourſelf in whatever manner you pleaſe; I ſhall ſuffer all the torments you can inflict*

*with pleaſure, provided I can flatter myſelf with having delivered the world from ſo terrible a ſcourge.* Richard pardoned him; but the unhappy man was, unknown to him, flead alive. This prince died, without children, in the forty-ſecond year of his age [y]. He was ſurnamed *Cœur de Lion* from his heroic valor; a quality leſs admirable than deſtructive, when joined to the vices of a tyrant. His reign was to his people a continued ſeries of vexations and misfortunes. In one year was levied the exorbitant ſum of five ſhillings on every hyde of land. The clergy having refuſed to pay this tax, the king prohibited his courts of law to give any ſentence againſt thoſe who were indebted to churchmen. He ſcarce merits any real praiſe, except for having eſtabliſhed an exact uniformity of weights and meaſures in his dominions; an uſeful regulation, which did not continue long. London was without police, robberies and murders were committed there in open day; the moſt abandoned criminals formed themſelves into ſocie-

[y] And tenth of his reign.

ties

ties too powerful to be ſuppreſſed. One of theſe villains having been taken in a church, and executed, the populace who loved him as an enemy to the rich, honored him ſome time as a ſaint. Theſe diſorders increaſed greatly in the following reign.

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## JOHN.

THIS prince, who had the appellation of *Lackland* becauſe Henry the ſecond, his father, had left him no appanage, had for his competitor Arthur, the young duke of Britany, his nephew; who, as ſon to the elder brother, would have had an inconteſtable claim, if repreſentation, or the right of primogeniture, had then been fully eſtabliſhed. By virtue of this part of the feudal law, deviſed in order to prevent diſputes and wars by a fixed rule of ſucceſſion, a nephew repreſenting his father ought to ſucceed preferably to an uncle. But the ancient cuſtoms ſtill prevailed in the kingdom. John had in his favor, his

A. D. 1199. Succeſſion to the crown.

age [z], and the laſt will of his brother.' The Engliſh without heſitating acknowledged him. In France, where the law of repreſentation had already more force, they determined in favor of Arthur. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared for him; the barons of theſe provinces had recourſe to the protection of Philip Auguſtus: and this politic monarch, deſirous to take advantage of the king of England's perplexed ſituation, ſupported the party of the young duke of Britany. As he was himſelf however extremely embarraſſed on the ſide of Rome, on occaſion of his divorce from queen Inſelburga, he liſtened at length to propoſals of accommodation, which ſeemed calculated to put an end to all diſputes.

John, too vicious not to draw on himſelf new enemies, reſolved, though already married to the heireſs of Glouceſter, to eſpouſe the wife of the count de la Marche, a young and beautiful princeſs, whoſe marriage was not yet conſummated. He divorced his queen on pretence of conſanguinity,

[z] Arthur was only twelve years old.

and

and indulged his paſſion, in defiance of the menaces of Rome, and the danger of an inſurrection. As John was hated by the barons, the count de la Marche, fired with the hope of revenging himſelf, excited a revolt in Normandy and Poitou. The king ſummoned his vaſſals. They refuſed to follow him, unleſs he would reſtore their privileges. By menaces, however, he brought the greater number to obey him. But the public diſcontents every day increaſed. As moſt diſputes were then decided by duel, he attempted to oblige the malecontents to fight with adventurers choſen by him as his champions. The barons, injured, deſpiſed, reduced to deſpair, had recourſe to Philip Auguſtus, who received their appeal, and began to aſſume a menacing ſtyle. John promiſed to do juſtice to his barons, and to give ſatisfaction to the ſovereign; and violated all his promiſes. This conduct, rendering him as contemptible as he was odious, lighted the torch of war.

A. D. 1203. Murder of Arthur.

Arthur, aged about ſixteen years, entered into alliance with Philip, eſpouſed his daughter, and received

the inveſtiture of Anjou and Maine. All gave way before the French army. Unfortunately the young duke of Britany loſt a battle againſt his uncle, and fell into the hands of this tyrant. His death was known ſome time after; no one doubted his having been murdered. The crime was certain, though the circumſtances were doubtful. According to the moſt probable accounts, John poniarded him with his own hand, and threw his body into the Seine, having found nobody who would commit this inhuman aſſaſſination. Conſtance, mother of Arthur, and the ſtates of Britany, demanded juſtice of the king of France. The Engliſh monarch, as his vaſſal, was cited before the court of peers; on his neglecting to appear, they adjudged him guilty of felony, and confiſcated to the uſe of the crown all that he poſſeſſed in the kingdom. This ſentence could be executed only by the ſword.

Normandy reunited to France.

Circumſtances were favorable to Philip. Having nothing to fear from his vaſſals, dextrous in ſeizing opportunities as they offered, he carried his victorious arms into Normandy. The averſion

averſion of the Normans to the French was an obſtacle too weak to ſtop the rapidity of his conqueſts. John attempted to retake Alençon. A tournament was at that very time held in the Gatinois. Philip invited the knights preſent to follow him in a more honorable career. At their approach, the puſillanimous king decamped. From that moment he appeared inſenſible to all his loſſes. The progreſs of his enemies ſeemed even to him a ſubject of amuſement. "*Let them go on*, ſaid he; *I ſhall retake in one day what they have been years in acquiring.*" Innocent the third, whoſe protection he implored, expected to command a peace, but found a firm reſiſtance to orders which he had no right to give. The brave Roger de Laci ſerved his prince better, and defended Chateau Gaillard an entire year; but Philip carried the place at length by aſſault, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of his victory by his generous treatment of the governor. The principal cities of Normandy were ſoon reduced under the dominion of the conqueror. Rouen, before the citizens would capitulate, demanded a ceſſation of thirty days; they hoped

Cowardice of John.

John would have haſtened to ſuccour his capital; it was given up without receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance. Thus Normandy was reunited, though unwillingly, to the crown of France, about three hundred years after Charles the Simple had diſmembered it from the monarchy. Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou, ſhared the ſame fate. John, who retired into his kingdom, ſo much the more debaſed as valour was in that age more general and more honored, made ſome faint preparations for war, waſted the money of his ſubjects, and never advanced a ſtep but to retreat again, throwing always on the barons the infamy due to his own perſonal cowardice.

John embroils himſelf with the church.

There wanted nothing to compleat his ſhame and his ruin, but to be at variance with the church. He manifeſted as much heat and violence here, as he had ſhewed weakneſs in another place. The archbiſhop of Canterbury being dead, it was the right of the monks of that cathedral to chuſe his ſucceſſor. The ſuffragan biſhops generally concurred in the election. A monaſtic cabal was the ſource of

of all the evils of the ſtate. The younger monks aſſembled in the night, without permiſſion from the court, named their ſub-prior primate, and, recommending to him the moſt profound ſecrecy, ſent him immediately to Rome, to get his nomination confirmed by the pope. The ſub-prior was ſcarce out of England, when he boaſted of having been choſen to a dignity which made him the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. The ſecret was diſcovered to the monarch. His firſt care was to aſſemble the monks, and exhort them to proceed to a canonical election. He propoſed the biſhop of Norwich, in whoſe favor the electors were unanimous. Twelve monks were ſent to ſupport this choice at Rome. Hiſtory here preſents an object very mortifying to religion. But religion can never loſe in the eyes of the wiſe. Her miniſters are men; ſhe never fails to condemn their exceſſes. No pope had ever carried farther than Innocent the third, the pretenſions of the tiara, nor had realized them with more imperiouſneſs and pride. This pontiff, not content to domineer over crowns, attempted to reduce

A D. 1206.

Innocent the third.

reduce the clergy to ſervitude; to diſpoſe of all benefices, or to appropriate to himſelf the revenues, by an extenſion of power, the abuſe of which ſubſiſted ſeveral ages. Far from confirming the new election, he commanded the twelve monks to proceed to another, and to name cardinal Langton to the ſee of Canterbury. They in vain repreſented they had no right, that ſuch a ſtep was contrary to all their regulations. The dread of excommunication ſtifled, in all the monks except one, every murmur of reaſon and conſcience. Innocent, to ſoften the king's chagrin, ſent him four rings ſet with precious ſtones, with a letter which father Orleans calls *forte ſpirituelle*, but which was in reality very abſurd, and very worthy of the ſpirit of that age. He exhorted him to conſider the form, the number, the matter, the color, of theſe rings. *The form, which is round, repreſents eternity, and ought to detach you from things temporal, to make you aſpire to things eternal. The number, which is four, denotes the firmneſs of a ſoul ſuperior to the viciſſitudes of fortune, and fixed on the ſolid foundation.*

Singular letter of the pope.

*tion of the four cardinal virtues. The matter, which is gold, the moſt precious of metals, ſignifies that wiſdom which Solomon preferred to all the gifts of fortune. The color is not leſs myſterious; the green of the emerald repreſents faith; the blue of the ſaphire hope; the red of the ruby charity; and the brilliancy of the topaz good works.*

Anger of the king.

Neither the rings nor theſe frivolous alluſions had power to mitigate the king's fury. He drove the monks from Canterbury, and ſeized on their revenues. The expoſtulations and menaces of Innocent, who artfully placed before his eyes the example of Becket; the prayers of the biſhops, who on their knees entreated him to avert the thunder of Rome by ſubmiſſion; ſerved only to irritate him the more. He threatened, if the pope dared to expedite his cenſures, to put out the eyes, and cut off the noſes, of all the monks then in England. The pontiff at length, well knowing how ſtrongly both the nobility and people were prejudiced againſt their monarch, diſplayed all his authority, and laid the kingdom under an interdict.

The kingdom laid under an interdict.

No

No means could have been more effectual to excite popular commotions. The whole nation ſhared in the prince's puniſhment. The altars deſpoiled of their ornaments; the images, ſtatues, and relicks, laid on the ground; divine ſervice interrupted; the churches ſhut to the laity; the ſacraments refuſed, except in the article of death; burials in conſecrated ground prohibited; penances, calculated to inſpire horror, enjoined; the commerce of ſociety diſturbed by a conſternation as great as it was general. Such were the conſequences of theſe interdicts, already become rather the terrible inſtruments of vengeance than ſpiritual puniſhments. The king oppoſed to theſe meaſures, an inflexibility, not leſs dangerous in ſuch a conjuncture. All who ſubmitted to the pope's orders, monks, eccleſiaſtics, biſhops, were rigorouſly puniſhed. A prudent firmneſs might have diſperſed the ſtorm; but John was actuated by paſſion alone, and his fury hurried him to the borders of a precipice.

Tyranny of John.

During the courſe of this quarrel, which continued ſeveral years, John endeavored to re-eſtabliſh his honor by

by military expeditions, againſt Ireland, againſt Scotland, and againſt the Welſh; againſt weak enemies, from his defeat of whom he reaped no glory. His tyranny deſpiſed all laws. The nobles were conſtrained to give him hoſtages, as ſecurity for their fidelity. The wife of one of theſe barons [a] declared, "She would never entruſt her ſon to him who had murdered his own nephew." She and her ſon atoned for theſe indiſcreet words with their lives.

Cardinal Langton was not yet put in poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. Innocent the third reſolved to finiſh his work. The cruſade publiſhed in France againſt the Albigenſes, to the ruin of the unhappy count of Thoulouſe, furniſhed the pope with the means of giving weight to his anathemas. He gave it in charge to the Engliſh biſhops, to ſtrike the laſt blow againſt John, by promulgating the ſentence of excommunication. Very few obeyed, ſo formidable was the monarch's anger. The anathema did not produce the leſs effect. The

A. D. 1209. The king excommunicated. He ſubmits.

[a] William de Braouſe.

prelates

prelates almoſt all left the kingdom; the barons formed combinations: the king's rage changed into the moſt abject fear; he deſired an interview with Langton; offered to acknowledge him as primate, to ſubmit to Innocent, and even to pay a ſum as a compenſation to the exiled eccleſiaſtics. Theſe offers appeared inſufficient to the cardinal, who inſiſted on an entire reſtitution of all of which the clergy had been deprived. The treaty was broke off. They ſeparated with minds more embittered than before.

A prince excommunicated was, at that time, almoſt a prince dethroned. A bull to diſpoſe of the crown was alone wanting. The pope at length offered it to Philip Auguſtus, exciting him to an unjuſt enterprize by the ſame indulgences which had been granted to the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. The ambition of the French prince had no occaſion for this religious motive. Without reflecting that the court of Rome attacked all ſovereigns in the perſon of one, and that, in accepting the ſpoils of John, he authorized the pope to depoſe himſelf, he thought only of ſeizing inſtantly ſo rich a prize. A numerous

numerous army, a fleet of ſeventeen hundred ſail, were prepared to execute the commands of Rome. John's excommunication rendered him more execrable than ever in the eyes of his people; his vaſſals appeared diſpoſed to betray him; his ruin had been inevitable, if the power by which he was oppreſſed had not found its account in ſaving him. The legate, Pandolph, who headed the enterprize formed againſt him, directed as was ſuppoſed by Innocent, went to meet the deſponding monarch at Dover; repreſented to him the greatneſs of his danger, and led him ſoon to the point at which he aimed. John ſubmitted to acknowledge Langton as primate, to give a full compenſation to the clergy, to conſign over even on the ſpot a conſiderable ſum for this purpoſe: he did more; he reſigned his kingdoms into the hands of the holy ſee, declaring himſelf a vaſſal to the pope, and obliging himſelf to pay him an annual tribute of a thouſand marks; and ſtipulating, in the ſame charter, that if any of his ſucceſſors failed in theſe engagements, they ſhould forfeit all right to the crown. This ſhameful treaty

John a vaſſal to the pope.

treaty was followed by the humiliating ceremony of homage. The king, unarmed and on his knees, took an oath to the legate, ſeated on a throne. Pandolph ſtill refuſed to take off the interdict and excommunication, before the exiled eccleſiaſtics had received full ſatisfaction [*b*]. John continued his cruelties. He cauſed a hermit to be hanged, who, having propheſied that the king ſhould that year loſe his crown, inſiſted that his prediction was fulfilled. Pandolph ſoon returned to the court of France, but his language was no longer the ſame. He aſſerted, that, England being now become a fief of the church, it would be an impiety worthy of excommunication to invade it. Philip, juſtly irritated, exclaimed againſt the legate and the court of Rome; and proteſted that, after the enormous expences into which he had been betrayed, he would not be the dupe of their perfidy. He aſſembled his vaſſals, complained to them of this unworthy treatment,

[*b*] The ſum demanded amounted to 100,000 marks, 20,000 for the monks of Canterbury alone. The pope, ſatisfied with the king's ſubmiſſion, reduced the whole to about 40,000.

and excited them to revenge. All of them (except the count of Flanders, who was engaged in a ſecret alliance with John) ſwore to defend his cauſe, in defiance of the pope and all his cenſures. They began by attacking the count of Flanders. In this interval, the earl of Saliſbury, natural brother to John, ſurpriſed the French fleet negligently guarded, and deſtroyed the greateſt part of it. To prevent the reſt of the veſſels from falling into the enemies hands, Philip himſelf ſet fire to them, thereby rendering the conqueſt of England impoſſible. The famous battle of Bouvines, which he gained againſt the emperor Otho, conſoled him for this misfortune. His power, ſupported by a wiſe policy, was rendered more firm than ever. John attempted to invade Anjou, and fled with his uſual cowardice at the approach of the French. New ſtorms were preparing in the boſom of his kingdom. Since the Norman conqueſt, though the feudal government was prejudicial to the royal authority, yet on the whole the prerogatives of the crown were conſiderably augmented; and the nobility in England were very

A. D. 1214.

very far from having the privileges their order poſſeſſed in other countries. The charter of Henry the firſt had been only a bait to allure and captivate the affections of the people: it not only remained un-executed, but was abſolutely buried in oblivion. The debaucheries, the baſeneſs, the tyranny, and inſolence of John, awakened the apprehenſions of the nobles. Langton the primate put himſelf at the head of the party. When he took off the king's excommunication, he obliged him to ſwear to defend the clergy and the church; to confirm the benevolent laws of his predeceſſors, eſpecially thoſe of St. Edward; to aboliſh ſome laws leſs favorable to his ſubjects, and to maintain juſtice in all his dominions. This oath furniſhed him with a pretence to revolt. Having aſſembled the barons, he ſhewed them a copy of the charter granted by Henry the firſt, which had juſt then been, he aſſured them, accidentally found in a monaſtery; he inſtigated them to cauſe it to be put in execution: they engaged themſelves by a mutual ſolemn vow to the ſtricteſt union; they agreed on meaſures proper to force from the king

king his conſent, if they found it was not to be obtained by gentle means.

On the day appointed, which was the ſixth of January, the conſpirators repaired to London, and demanded of the king the renewal of Henry's charter, and the confirmation of the laws of St. Edward. He promiſed them a deciſive anſwer at Eaſter. Alarmed at ſo unexpected a ſtep, he loſt not a moment by the moſt exorbitant conceſſions to gain the clergy to his intereſts; to implore the pope's protection; and to take on him the cruſade, the moſt certain means of engaging the protection of the church. But the Engliſh clergy, weary of the deſpotiſm of the court of Rome, and beginning to regret thoſe privileges they had too eaſily given up, inclined openly to the cauſe of national liberty. The barons were the more fixed in their enterpriſe. They were in arms at the approach of Eaſter, when the king ſent to enquire the particulars of their pretenſions. Having read the articles, he aſked with fury, "*Why they had not alſo demanded his kingdom?*" and ſwore never to grant them privileges which muſt render him a ſlave.

A. D. 1218. The king attempts to reſiſt, but yields.

ſlave. The barons choſe immediately a general, under the title of *Marſhal of the army of God and the church* [c]. They iſſued orders for all the nobility to join them in ſupport of the common cauſe. They entered London without oppoſition. John, abandoned by his ſubjects, his train reduced to ſeven knights, having offered in vain to leave their diſputes to the arbitration of the pope, ſaw himſelf con-
19th June. ſtrained to ſign the *Great Charter* at Runnemede, where the conferences were held.

This famous act is the foundation of the Engliſh liberties. The following are the principal articles: The freedom of elections ſecured to the clergy, the right of ſucceſſion to the fiefs confirmed to the heirs of the barons, the right of garde-noble or wardſhip (aboliſhed by Henry the firſt) reſtrained within reaſonable bounds. The king was not to raiſe contributions or *ſcutages* on the barons without the conſent of a general aſſembly, except for ranſoming himſelf if taken priſoner, knighting his eldeſt ſon, or

[c] Robert Fitzwalter.

marrying

marrying his daughter; exceptions preſcribed by the feudal laws. He was not to take the lands of a baron in payment of a debt to the crown, if the caſtles and other effects of the debtor were ſufficient to anſwer the debt. If a knight performed his military ſervice in perſon, by the king's orders, no money was to be demanded of him, nor any other ſervice. The privileges granted to the barons were to extend to the inferior vaſſals. One weight and meaſure was to be obſerved throughout the kingdom; no arbitrary taxes to be levied on merchants; permiſſion given to all freemen to leave the kingdom, and return at their pleaſure. London, and all the other cities and boroughs, maintained in poſſeſſion of their ancient liberties and immunities: No taxes or aids to be impoſed without the conſent of a national council: every free-man might diſpoſe of his goods as he pleaſed, and his natural heirs ſucceed to them, if he died inteſtate. The officers of the crown were not to take either carriages, horſes, or wood, contrary to the will of the owner. The courts of juſtice not

to follow the king, but remain fixed in one place; no perſon to be proſecuted on rumor, or ſimple ſuſpicion, but on legal depoſition. No freeman impriſoned, diſpoſſeſſed of his property, baniſhed, or any way injured, but by the judgement of his peers, or the laws of the land. Fines were to be proportioned to offences, and never to extend to the entire ruin of the criminal. A *villain*, or peaſant, was never to be fined to the loſs of his inſtruments of labor. Theſe laſt articles without doubt contained the laws of St. Edward, which the nation never ceaſed to reclaim. They ſaw that the barons, in joining the peoples intereſt to their own, laid themſelves under a neceſſity of being juſt, and of not oppreſſing their dependants. This proceeding would have merited praiſe if they had been actuated by equity rather than ambition. But their principal motive probably was the hope of conciliating the public favor at the expence of a prince univerſally deteſted. To eſtabliſh their great work on a firm baſis, they choſe twenty-five from amongſt themſelves, who, under the title of conſervators of

The barons uſurp power.

of the public liberty, were inveſted with unlimited authority. All perſons whatſoever were obliged to take an oath of obedience to them: they were empowered to admoniſh the king, in caſe of his violation of the charter, and even to take arms againſt him, if neceſſary, in concert with the general council of the nation, or, in other words, the council of prelates and barons, for there is no appearance that the houſe of commons had then a being. John was not of a character to feel the infamy of any action which conduced to his preſervation. He baſely ſubmitted to the terms impoſed on him, and even ſent orders to oblige all his ſubjects to take the oath of obedience to the conſervators. But he wanted only an opportunity to violate all his promiſes. He retired to the iſle of Wight, where, plunged in the darkeſt melancholy, he meditated his plan of vengeance.

Magna-charta condemned at Rome.

His emiſſaries enliſted a body of Brabanſons, to whom they promiſed a rich booty. The pope, ſolicited by his new vaſſal, publiſhed a bull to condemn and annul the great charter, as contradictory to the dignity of the holy ſee. He

forbad the barons, and the king himſelf, to pay the leaſt regard to it, diſpenſed with the oath they had taken to obſerve it, and excommunicated all who ſhould dare to perſiſt in its ſupport. Theſe meaſures were agreeable to the genius and principles of Innocent: but a blind obedience to the holy ſee, in temporal affairs, was no longer comprized amongſt the Chriſtian duties. The primate, having refuſed to publiſh theſe cenſures, was ſuſpended from his functions; the clergy, the nobles, and people, ſhewed not the leſs ardor for the public liberty.

A. D. 1216. The crown offered to prince Lewis.

John had already retracted all his conceſſions. He took the field with an army of Brabanſons, determined to glut his cruelty. As if in an enemy's country, he carried fire and ſword from one end of the kingdom to the other, without meeting any reſiſtance from the barons, who, lulled into an imprudent confidence, had taken no meaſures for their defence. Danger and deſpair obliged them to ſeek aſſiſtance from France. Not daring to avow openly a reſolution to dethrone their ſovereign, ſo inviolable at

at that time appeared the right of crowned heads, they urged that John was incapable of inheriting the crown, both becauſe of his attainder in Richard's reign, though Richard had afterwards named him his ſucceſſor; and becauſe of the judgement of the peers of France after Arthur's murder, as if this judgement could have any force in England: they added to theſe, a reaſon much more plauſible, becauſe he had depoſed himſelf, by ſubmitting to vaſſalage, and holding of the pope, a crown in its nature independent. They pretended that prince Lewis, eldeſt ſon of Philip Auguſtus, deſcended by his mother [d] from Henry the ſecond, might legally be called to the throne; and they

[d] As Blanche of Caſtile, wife of Lewis, was deſcended by her mother from Henry the ſecond, they maintained, though many other princes ſtood before her in the order of ſucceſſion, that they did not ſhake off the royal family in chooſing her huſband for their ſovereign. HUME. There is an error of the ſame kind in the reign of Henry the ſecond, where the king of Navarre, inſtead of the king of Caſtile, is mentioned as his ſon-in-law. The tranſlator has there taken the liberty to rectify the miſtake in the text.

offered to acknowledge him their king, on condition he undertook their defence againſt a prince equally furious and implacable. The pope's legate threatened Philip with excommunication if he attacked the patrimony of St. Peter. This ambitious monarch had accepted a kingdom from the hands of the pope, but was leſs inclined to refuſe one in obedience to his commands. After having taken the precaution to demand twenty-five hoſtages, he ſent Lewis at the head of a body of forces. The greater part of John's troops abandoned him, on pretence, that, being French, they could not ſerve againſt the heir of the king of France. Several of the moſt powerful and noble of his adherents went over to the party of Lewis. Nothing reſiſted the latter. A revolution would have been infallible, if the prince had not excited the jealouſy of the Engliſh by preferences too apparent in favor of ſtrangers. It was even reported he intended to exterminate the nobility of the kingdom, to give their poſſeſſions and dignities to the French. Theſe prejudices grew ſtronger every day. The barons returned

to their obedience to John. He had already a numerous army, and prepared for a deciſive engagement. Marching too near the ſea, on the coaſt of Lincolnſhire, the tide coming in ſurprized him; his treaſures and baggage were buried in the waters; he was in danger of being drowned himſelf, with his troops. Vexation brought on him a diſorder of which he died ſoon after. There is no crime ſo infamous with which this prince has not been reproached.

A. D. 1216. Death of John.

Matthew Paris, an Engliſh hiſtorian, greatly eſteemed, aſſerts that he had even ſolicited the protection of the king of Morocco, offering to embrace the Mahometan faith, if he would ſupport him againſt the pope and Philip Auguſtus. Every thing is credible, where a man ſo violent, ſo furious, ſo baſe, and ſo imprudent is concerned.

Following Mr. Hume's method, who ſtops at the principal epochas, to develop the great objects of hiſtory, and making uſe of the lights afforded us by that judicious hiſtorian, we will endeavor here to give our readers a perfect knowledge of the nature

of the feudal government, and of the ſtate of the kingdom; a knowledge abſolutely neceſſary in order to clear up a number of difficulties which occur, to enable us to connect the chain of events, and to comprehend the moſt ſingular political inſtitution that ever exiſted in Europe.

The feudal Government.

We have already ſeen that the Germans formed themſelves into communities, rather military than civil, under chiefs to whom they were extremely attached. When they had eſtabliſhed themſelves by arms in the provinces of the Roman empire, being ignorant as well of the uſe of garriſons, as of the art of raiſing regular revenues, and finding it neceſſary to be always in a ſtate of defence, the chiefs diſtributed to their officers, and the latter to thoſe under their command, a portion of the lands aſſigned to themſelves, on condition they ſhould take arms whenever called upon for the public ſervice. Theſe *fiefs* were in the place of pay; they were not held as unalterable, but only during the pleaſure of the prince or firſt poſſeſſor. The paſſion and taſte for property inſenſibly altered the nature of

of the fiefs. It required a very extraordinary degree of ſelf-denial for a man to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the lands he had cultivated, of which he had reaped the fruits, and to which he had acquired an habitual affection. They were granted for a term of years, and afterwards for life; they were at length made hereditary; and thus the kings, either by imprudence or weakneſs, diveſted themſelves of their domains. The great vaſſals became almoſt independent. Their ſubjects, of whom they were the protectors, attached themſelves more to them than to the ſovereign; a multitude of inferior vaſſals compoſed a formidable body under each of the principal chiefs; and the advantages of this aſſociation were ſo great, that they came in time to be preferred to the allodial or free tenures. Thoſe who had the latter, reſigned them to the prince or ſome principal baron, in order to receive them from him as *fiefs* with obligation of feudal ſervice. Thus were formed, in every ſtate, ſeveral baronies, ſub-divided into an infinite number of inferior *fiefs*. The *earls*, charged with the adminiſtra-

tion of juſtice (for the civil and military power were not yet ſeparated), finding alſo their advantage in the fines, which were the only puniſhments then eſtabliſhed, appropriated to themſelves in the ſame manner their dignities, and changed theſe revocable commiſſions into hereditary titles. Theſe were a ſpecies of new fiefs, or rather new branches torn off from the royal authority. The ſovereign was always at the head of the feudal body. Obliged to defend his vaſſals, he had an equal right to their aſſiſtance, for his defence, and that of the ſtate; he had a power to convoke them to his court; and though their advice, and even their conſent, were neceſſary on the moſt important occaſions, a ſeat in this aſſembly, which was one of the moſt valuable of their privileges, was often regarded by them as a burthen, becauſe an acknowledgment of the dependance of the fiefs. The inferior vaſſals owed to their chiefs the ſame duties as the latter owed to the king; ſo that every barony was a kind of petty kingdom, which had its peers, like the ſtate of which it made a part.

Obligations of the feudatories.

'Tis

'Tis eaſy to judge of the ardor of every baron to render his authority continually more independent on the crown, and more formidable to his vaſſals. This Gothic inſtitution could not fail of producing jealouſies, wars, and oppreſſions, without number. The leſſer barons, who were in want of protection and ſuccours, were entirely ſubjected to the great vaſſals; the people, deſpiſed, becauſe military talents were only in eſteem, groaned under the moſt wretched ſlavery. Ariſtocracy, the moſt rigorous of all governments, extinguiſhed every principle of equity and nature, or rather the feudal government every where degenerated into a deſtructive anarchy; which contributed greatly to bring things back to their true centre; to make the people prefer the dominion of *one* to that of *ſeveral* maſters, become almoſt univerſally tyrants.

Parliament.

The legiſlative power in England reſided in the king, and the great council of the nation, called ſince the parliament. The biſhops were part of this aſſembly, either by virtue of an ancient cuſtom, or as barons of

the kingdom. The other members were the barons, or thoſe who poſſeſſed ſmaller military fiefs which held immediately of the crown. It appears very evidently that the commons were not yet a part of the great council. Beſides the reaſons already alledged, and which will ever ſubſiſt, there are two very convincing proofs of this fact. The ſtates of Normandy, in the time of William the Conqueror, were compoſed of only the clergy and nobles; ſince the firſt corporations in that province, Rouen and Falaiſe owed their exiſtence to Philip Auguſtus. Now the turn of government which then prevailed in Normandy ſeems to have been the model of that which the Conqueror eſtabliſhed in England. On the other ſide, the great charter, in the article which ſtipulates that no tax ſhall be levied without the conſent of the national council, ſpecifies thoſe who have a right to compoſe it, and makes no mention of the commons. The popular party, when violently agitated, have however maintained with an obſtinate warmth that the commons enjoyed heretofore the ſame privileges of

of which they are now in poſſeſſion. But experience too frequently convinces us, that the ſpirit of party is deaf to the voice of reaſon, triumphs in the weakeſt proofs, and ſhuts its eyes to the cleareſt evidence.

The Engliſh of our days trouble themſelves little with theſe prejudices, well knowing that the rights of the commons have no occaſion to be built on ſo doubtful a foundation.

To return to our ſubject. Nobody was deſirous of a ſeat in theſe aſſemblies, which conferred no increaſe of honors or advantages, yet involved them in a heavy expence. It is probable that the barons only were obliged to aſſiſt at them. They were held three times a year, at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide, independently of extraordinary occaſions. The king alone poſſeſſed the executive power. The barons and their vaſſals were compelled to take arms at his command, whether againſt a foreign enemy or his rebellious ſubjects: the time of their ſervice was forty days.

Courts of juſtice.

Though William the Conqueror had continued the ancient *hundred* and *county* courts eſtabliſhed by Alfred, and

and though they judged all diſputes between the ſubjects of different baronies, yet he really poſſeſſed almoſt the whole judicial power, which he executed by his own officers. The king's court determined all civil and criminal cauſes. The Norman law, more refined, more complicated than the Saxon, was a ſtudy above the capacity of a mere ſoldier. Men of the law were appointed, with the title of barons, to manage and decide affairs. As they depended on the prince, his will was generally the rule of their deciſions. Appeals were allowed from inferior courts to this. The county courts fell inſenſibly into diſcredit, becauſe thoſe who compoſed them were ignorant of the ſubtilties of the new juriſprudence.

The authority of the kings of France was then ſcarce ſo extenſive. The revenues of the crown were, ſince the Conqueſt, become very conſiderable, as well by the number and greatneſs of the domains, as by a multiplicity of rights which it was eaſy to abuſe. Taxes were raiſed on proviſions, on merchandiſe, on the paſſage of bridges and rivers; the government

vernment alſo exacted compoſitions for military ſervice, impoſed taxes on the farmers, and thoſe ſometimes ſo heavy, that under William Rufus they totally abandoned tillage. As the ſovereign had the original propriety in all the fiefs, he ſucceeded to the eſtates of ſuch barons as died without poſterity. The feudal laws authoriſed him to confiſcate the fiefs in ſeveral caſes, of diſobedience, felony, and other crimes. Theſe confiſcations continually increaſed his domains. At the death of a baron, he ſeized his lands, nor could his heirs enter into poſſeſſion till they had paid a certain ſum. During the minority of the heir, the rents belonged to the crown, which provided for his education and maintenance. The advantages of this right muſt have been immenſe, ſince Simon de Montfort gave ten thouſand marks to Henry the third, to have the wardſhip of Gilbert d'Umfreville. The treaſury was alſo daily increaſed by fines and by preſents. Juſtice, favor, protection, every thing was ſet to ſale. In the records of the barons of exchequer, are found a great number of minute particulars

particulars of theſe unworthy bargains. One ſees there the ſums received; ſometimes to purchaſe a favorable reception at court; ſometimes that a charter already obtained ſhall not be violated; for leave to defend a cauſe in law; to know if the party is accuſed from motives of malice or not; to engage the court to enforce the payment of a debt; to ſecure the keeping of a ſecret; for a letter of recommendation; for an affair of commerce, &c. It is found in theſe regiſters, that a woman gave two hundred pullets to the king, for permiſſion to paſs a night with her huſband [e]; who, it is to be ſuppoſed, was a priſoner. The rage for the chace, the predominant paſſion of the Engliſh and Normans, produced alſo very conſiderable fines, the king being in poſſeſſion of ſixty-eight foreſts, and ſeven hundred and eighty-one parks, within the kingdom. To this muſt be added, what was an important object to the exchequer, the ſhameful exactions made uſe of againſt the Jews. This oppreſſed nation did not, how-

[e] Hugh de Neville.

ever,

ever, diſcontinue either its uſury or commerce. Induſtry doubtleſs repaired its loſſes.

Civil laws. Public manners. Riches of the church.

The deſpotiſm practiſed by the Anglo-Norman kings was exerciſed by the greater part of the barons on their vaſſals. The new principles of independence embraced by the clergy was another ſource of diſorders. William the Conqueror had made them too rich not to have a very great influence in affairs of ſtate. Of ſixty thouſand two hundred and fifteen fiefs eſtabliſhed in England, he had given more than twenty-eight thouſand to the church, which rendered them the more powerful, as the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude acted blindly from the impreſſions given them by a body of eccleſiaſtics, almoſt as illiterate and unenlightened as themſelves. The civil laws were too imperfect to remedy ſo many abuſes. The trial by the croſs and ordeal, with other ridiculous judiciary proofs, ſtill ſubſiſted. To them was added the new abſurdity of deciding cauſes by ſingle combat. Without any acceſſion to the cauſe of virtue, the Saxon manners had given way to the romantic uſages of chivalry.

Gallantry,

Gallantry, and the point of honor, which were its diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, had not rendered men leſs unjuſt, or more humane. The ideas of enchanters, giants, monſters, ſorceries, and all the fables with which their minds were ſeriouſly occupied, produced on the contrary thoſe numerous evils which credulity leads ever in her train. Though the great charter neither aboliſhed the ancient courts, nor eſtabliſhed a new form in the adminiſtration of juſtice, though it did not enter into details, even of the moſt important affairs, and only guarded property and freedom by general clauſes, yet it changed by degrees the whole face of the government, and is juſtly regarded as a memorable epocha in the hiſtory of the Engliſh conſtitution.

HENRY

## HENRY the Third.

JOHN left two legitimate ſons [*f*], of whom Henry, the elder, was only eight years of age. Prince Lewis expected that the death of the king, and the tender years of the lawful heir, would have enſured the ſucceſs of his enterprize. But the fidelity, prudence, and courage, of the earl of Pembroke, marſhal of the kingdom, and as ſuch inveſted with the ſupreme military command, ſaved the nation from a yoke, which it had then too much reaſon to apprehend carrying. This nobleman cauſed the young Pembroke protector.

[*f*] John left two legitimate ſons behind him, Henry, born on the firſt of October, 1207, and now nine years of age; and Richard, born on the ſixth of January, 1209; and three daughters, Jane, married to Alexander king of Scots; Eleanor, married firſt to William Mareſchall the Younger, earl of Pembroke, and then to Simon Mountfort, earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabella, married to the emperor Frederic the ſecond. All theſe children were born to him by Iſabella of Angouleſme, his ſecond wife. His illegitimate children were numerous, but none of them were anywiſe diſtinguiſhed. HUME.

prince

prince to be crowned at Glouceſter in the legate's preſence, and to renew the homage to the holy ſee; precautions abſolutely neceſſary at a time when the ceremony of crowning was regarded as indiſpenſable, and when he had ſo much occaſion for the protection of the court of Rome, and the favor of the clergy. The barons being aſſembled, choſe Pembroke protector of the kingdom. This title gave him a lawful authority more effectually to ſerve his country. The great charter was confirmed, but with ſome alterations. Neither the power of naming to benefices without the king's *congé d'elire*, nor the liberty of leaving the kingdom, were compriſed in the new charter of Henry the third, apparently becauſe they had experienced the abuſes ariſing from both. The article was alſo ſuppreſſed, by which he was prohibited raiſing taxes and *ſcutages* without the conſent of a national council. The barons clearly ſaw, that, being always armed, it would be impoſſible for the prince to exact from them any impoſt of this kind, unleſs obliged by a very evident neceſſity. Some time after, the foreſt laws

Alterations in the great charter.

laws were, by a new charter, extremely ſoftened: an infallible means to gain the nobles, whoſe greateſt pleaſure was that of the chace.

The letters and invitations of the protector, the promiſe of pardon, the inconveniences of a foreign dominion, with the cenſures fulminated againſt Lewis, led back to the royal cauſe ſeveral of his principal adherents. His father, Philip Auguſtus, favoring his conduct ſecretly, but diſavowing it in public (ſo dangerous was it to brave the pope), had ſuffered him to act as if he himſelf took no intereſt in this important conqueſt. But Lewis, at his return, found affairs in a bad ſtate. Pembroke defeated the French, commanded by the count de Perche, and drove them from Lincoln. The prince raiſed the ſiege of Dover, which Hubert de Bourg, the governor, had a long time defended with the moſt heroic valor. A French fleet was vanquiſhed and diſperſed. The Engliſh barons from every part haſtened to join the protector. Lewis at length, fearing for his perſonal ſafety, concluded a peace, and agreed to leave the kingdom on condition his partizans were

The French defeated.

re-eſtabliſhed in their eſtates and dignities. Matthew Paris adds, that he obliged himſelf to engage Philip to reſtore Normandy and the other confiſcated provinces; or, if he could not obtain this, to reſtore them himſelf when he came to the throne. But this article is not in the treaty, and ſeems to have been a meer ſuppoſition. The eccleſiaſtics who had embraced the party of the French were the only victims of this revolt. The legate puniſhed very ſeverely their diſobedience to the pope's commands.

Diſturbances in the ſtate after the death of the protector.

The earl of Pembroke, by the wiſdom of his conduct, had appeaſed theſe animoſities, and reſtored the public tranquillity. He died too ſoon to fix on a firm baſis a work much more glorious than conqueſt. The biſhop of Wincheſter, and Hubert de Bourg, ſucceeded him in the adminiſtration. The ſecond, on whom the chief authority devolved, was a man of great abilities, to whom the power only of Pembroke was wanting. The licentiouſneſs of the barons ſoon occaſioned him great inquietude. The laws not having ſufficient force againſt theſe armed ambitious nobles, ever

ready to attack the domains of the crown, as well as the lands of their neighbors, revolts became frequent. The government was compelled to be for ever combating, or puniſhing the rebellious. A match of wreſtling, a favorite amuſement of the populace, occaſioned a dangerous inſurrection in London. Some of the criminals were puniſhed without form of law. Complaints were made, and a new confirmation of the *great charter* demanded. One of the members of the council of regency [g] had the boldneſs to ſay, that this deed, extorted by violence, ought not to be of any force; but the archbiſhop of Canterbury blamed a propoſition ſo calculated to excite new commotions; and the king, to whom the parliament had juſt granted a ſubſidy, iſſued new orders for the execution of the charter, and the ſupport of thoſe rights and liberties it was meant to ſecure. The biſhops, by menaces of excommunication, at length obliged the barons to ſurrender the fortreſſes which they withheld from the crown. Thus re-

A. D. 1222.

The barons reſign the fortreſſes.

[g] William de Briewere.

ligion

ligion contributed to the public repoſe, notwithſtanding thoſe abuſes which had corrupted her ſalutary influence. The miniſters of the God of peace could not entirely forget the mild precepts of the goſpel, nor the great break all at once thoſe ſacred ties which hold the human paſſions enchained even on the throne. Amongſt the numerous, and almoſt ſimilar, events of this long reign, we will ſelect thoſe moſt worthy of being remarked, without ſcrupulouſly following the ſtrict chronological order, leſs proper to connect the narration than to break the thread of intereſting ideas. The war undertaken againſt Lewis the eighth, for the recovery of Normandy, merits little attention, as it produced nothing memorable, except the taking of Rochelle by the French. The character of Henry became every day more known, and ſeemed to threaten a weak and ſtormy adminiſtration.

This prince, naturally ſoft and gentle, had neither policy nor vigor of mind; equally unable to make himſelf feared, notwithſtanding his ſudden ſtarts of anger, and to inſpire lovely attachments

attachments in which both ſolid judgement and ſteadineſs were wanting. The diſgrace of Hubert de Bourg, a faithful and virtuous miniſter, was a melancholy proof of his inconſtancy. The king ſuffered himſelf to be prejudiced againſt him, after having long experienced the utility of his ſervices. Excited by the nobles, who unwillingly ſuffered power in the hands of a man who employed it to reſtrain their violences, he carried his perſecution of him to ſuch an exceſs, as to force him from a church where he had taken ſanctuary. Du Bourg eſcaped: he was accuſed, amongſt other crimes, of having made uſe of magic to gain the monarch's affection, and of having purloined from the treaſury an enchanted ring which rendered him invulnerable; an accuſation very conformable to the abſurd prejudices which then univerſally prevailed. According to Matthew Paris, he drew on himſelf the public hatred by adviſing Henry to annul the charter of foreſts. The ſilence of all the other hiſtorians, on a fact of this nature, ought to prevent our giving credit to his teſtimony.

A. D. 1231. Change of the miniſtry.

Biſhop of Winche-ſter a bad miniſter.

Peter des Roches, biſhop of Winchester, a native of Poitou, who is juſtly regarded as the firſt author of the miniſter's diſgrace, found himſelf in poſſeſſion of an authority of which he ſoon made an ill uſe. His deſpotic principles, and partiality to his countrymen, were inconſiſtent with the rules of juſt and equitable government. The court was filled with Poitevins: all favors, all dignities, were theirs alone. The Engliſh were fired with jealouſy; the inſolence of the Poitevins made it flame out with fury.

A. D. 1233. Diſcontent of the barons.

Henry having convoked a parliament, the barons refuſed to obey his ſummons, and even threatened to dethrone him if he did not diſmiſs the foreigners. They came at length, but in a poſture of defence. Des Roches diſconcerted all their meaſures, by ſowing diſſention amongſt them. The eſtates of ſeveral were confiſcated, without a trial by their peers; and the Poitevins were enriched with their ſpoils. To the complaints excited by ſo avowed an infraction of the great charter; the king replied, *Why ſhould I obſerve a charter which is not obſerved by the barons and prelates? 'Tis you, Sir,* ſaid they,

they, *who ought to ſet the example.* The royal authority was not ſufficiently formidable, nor the character of the king enough firm, to enable a miniſter, generally deteſted, to triumph over ſo many enemies. The primate, Edmond, accompanied by ſeveral biſhops, had the courage to demand his baniſhment, and to repreſent in the moſt lively colors the enormous abuſes of his miniſtry. He menaced Henry himſelf with excommunication, if in this inſtance he refuſed to ſatisfy the nation, and the church. The dread of eccleſiaſtical cenſures produced this once a good effect. The biſhop of Wincheſter was diſmiſſed, and the Engliſh reſtored to the offices lately filled by the Poitevins.

New ſtrangers at the court.

One of the leſſons moſt uſeful to mankind is the experience of paſt errors, and of the evils which have followed them. But there are men, ſome from wickedneſs, others from indolence, whom nothing can correct. Henry was one of the latter. Inſtead of endeavoring to regain the affection of the Engliſh; inſtead of giving them proofs of his confidence and love; he again delivered himſelf up to ſtrangers,

without the leaſt regard to his ſubjects. Having married Eleanor, daughter to the count of Provence, he beſtowed all his favor on the Provenſals and Savoyards, attached to this princeſs. The biſhop of Valence, of the houſe of Savoy [*b*], became his miniſter, and abuſed his power to the purpoſe of enriching himſelf and his relations. He obtained a bull from Rome, permitting the king to reſume all his paſt grants. This prince acted always like a vaſſal full of ſubmiſſion to the pope; and, under pretence of owing him unlimited obedience as his ſupreme lord, he publiſhed Gregory the ninth's ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor, Frederic the ſecond, *his brother-in-law*. The barons exclaimed with the utmoſt bitterneſs againſt theſe rapacious ſtrangers, who exhauſted the royal treaſure, governed the kingdom deſpotically, and affected to treat the Engliſh, and even their laws, with contempt. Frequent refuſals of ſubſidies drove the impoveriſhed monarch to employ expedients as dangerous as his wants.

[*b*] Maternal uncle to the queen.

He

He exacted money by forced loans, and pretended voluntary contributions, called *benevolences*; he assumed the right of dispensing with the laws, because the pope dispensed with the canons: *in what an age do we live!* said a judge [*i*] on this subject: *the civil court is corrupted by the example of the ecclesiastic; the river is poisoned from that fountain!* We shall soon see whether these complaints were ill-founded.

A. D. 1242. War with France.

Henry entered into an alliance with the count de la Marche, against Lewis the ninth, king of France. He had here an opportunity, by the glory of his arms, of giving lustre to his government. But this prince was as destitute of military, as of political, talents. He lost the battle of Taillebourg, where Lewis heroically signalized himself, was unable to save what remained to him in Poitou, and returned to England covered with shame. Guyenne continued faithful to him, because, at this distance from the sovereign, its dependence was scarce felt. The king of Castile having invaded

[*i*] Roger de Thurkesby.

this province ſome years after, the inhabitants had recourſe to Henry, who greatly increaſed his debts by going to their aſſiſtance.

Complaints againſt the court of Rome.

All the kingdom had a long time reſounded with complaints againſt the illegal attempts of the court of Rome. The popes had arrogated to themſelves the right of naming to benefices. They had ſucceſſively appointed two archbiſhops of Canterbury, ſince the death of Langton; they demanded arbitrary contributions, and ſeemed to employ their authority only to draw money from the clergy and people. The legates and nuncios, ſupported by the king, carried on without remiſſion their ruinous exactions. The rights of patrons, the ancient regulations, were openly violated. Almoſt all the great benefices in England were conferred on Italians; and the writers of that time aſſure us, that one of the king's chaplains poſſeſſed alone ſeven hundred prebends. Proteſtant authors are never weary of entering into particular details of the abuſes with which the hiſtory of this reign is filled. One cannot doubt their being very great, ſince a people ſo ſuperſtitious

ſtitious could not ſee them without indignation. Aſſociations were formed againſt the beneficed Italians; their houſes, their lands, were plundered; ſo many perſons, and of ſuch conſequence, were guilty of theſe acts of violence, that the government was compelled to let them paſs unpuniſhed. At length the king and the nobility, ſent deputies to the council of Lyons (called principally in order to proceed againſt the emperor Frederic), to complain of the tyranny exerciſed on the Engliſh church. The ambaſſadors repreſented, that the annual rents of the Italian clergy in England amounted to ſixty thouſand marks, a ſum exceeding the revenue of the crown. The pope eluded theſe complaints. Mention was made in the council of the right of ſovereignty, which John had granted to the holy ſee. The earl of Norfolk maintained, that the king had no power, without the conſent of his barons, to ſubject the kingdom to a foreign dominion. It does not appear, that the court of Rome inſiſted much afterwards on this unprofitable claim, which the diſtance of place, and the

Council of Lyons.

national character of the Engliſh, rendered it impoſſible to ſupport. The papal exactions however continued; and when Henry ſeemed inclined to oppoſe them, Innocent the fourth menaced him with the fate of the emperor Frederic.

The hatred of this implacable pontiff to the emperor, extended after his death to Conradin his grandſon, the legal heir to the crown of Sicily, of which Mainfroy [*k*], uncle to this young prince, had perfidiouſly poſſeſſed himſelf. Not being by his own force able to conquer it from either of theſe princes, he offered the crown to Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry the third, whoſe immenſe riches enabled him to undertake ſo important an expedition. Richard refuſed; but the king had the imprudence to accept the ſame offer, for Edmond, his ſecond ſon; and authorized the pope to expend whatever ſum were neceſſary to this conqueſt. Innocent, and his ſucceſſor, Alexander the fourth, willingly carried on this unjuſt war at his expence. Henry

[*k*] Natural ſon to the emperor Frederic.

found

found himſelf ſuddenly loaded with a debt of more than thirty-five thouſand marks, without reckoning the intereſt. He applied to the barons, who were not diſpoſed to diſtreſs themſelves in favor of ſo fooliſh and romantic an enterpriſe. The burthen fell on the clergy. Alexander, by his bulls, ordained the moſt ſcandalous exactions. If we may credit Matthew Paris, a new method of extortion was employed, to amaſs conſiderable ſums. This was to draw bills [*l*], at Rome, on every biſhop and abbot in England, in favor of the Italian merchants. This pretended debt amounted to more than a hundred and fifty thouſand marks. The pope's legate, who was charged with the taſk of negotiating theſe bills, convoked a ſynod, and demanded payment. The biſhop of London exclaimed, "that the pope and the king were indeed more powerful than he, but that if they took away his mitre, he would replace it by a helmet." The other biſhops did not diſſemble their ſurprize and indig-

Exaction of Rome.

Oppoſition of the clergy.

[*l*] Theſe bills were drawn by the biſhop of Hereford, agent for the Engliſh church at Rome.

nation. The legate inſiſted, threatened; the only mitigation to which he would conſent was, that the tenths already granted, ſhould be placed to the account of theſe bills. They were obliged to obey. The demands of the Romiſh church were continually renewed. Alexander even menaced the king with an interdict, if the arrears, which he ſaid were due to him, were not inſtantly paid. The conqueſt of Sicily was not the more advanced. Henry, deſpairing of ſucceſs, at length renounced all pretenſions to this crown; and Urban the fourth gave it, ſome years after, to the count of Anjou. We could wiſh to be able, with father Orleans, to diſſemble thoſe facts, the mention of which is afflicting to the church; but it is not permitted to alter the truth of hiſtory. This ingenious author paſſes lightly over the diſcontents of the nation, on account of *what they called the enterprizes of the pope and the court of Rome.* Did he fear that the real enterprizes of the pope and the court of Rome, however inexcuſable they might be, would throw diſhonor on a religion which inſpires its votaries with only

only diſintereſtedneſs, charity, and juſtice?

Prince Richard, who had the wiſdom to refuſe the crown of Sicily, ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by the hope of being emperor. His great riches, amaſſed by avarice, were ſacrificed to ambition. He was elected king of the Romans, went over to Germany to purchaſe the imperial crown, laviſhed away his treaſures, ſaw himſelf abandoned when no longer opulent, and became miſerable becauſe he had not known how to enjoy his happineſs. The barons breathed only rebellion. The great charter, which they themſelves violated in regard to their vaſſals, was the pretext of their ſeditious complaints againſt the king. They had boldly reproached him, in full parliament, with his exactions, his rapine, his hatred to the Engliſh, "from whom, ſaid they inſolently, he ought to bluſh to expect ſuccours and ſubſidies, when he prefers ſtrangers to them, and makes them groan under the yoke of oppreſſion." Four biſhops [*m*], deputed by their order, had

Diſcontents againſt the king.

[*m*] The biſhops of Canterbury, Wincheſter, Saliſbury, and Carliſle.

made him ſpirited remonſtrances, eſpecially on the irregular elections then common in the church; and he had anſwered ironically, "That their complaints were indeed juſt; that he had raiſed them all four to the epiſcopate contrary to the uſual rules, and even to decency; that therefore they ought to reſign their benefices, to enable him to repair his faults." They obliged him at length to ratify the great charter, with an extraordinary pomp of religious ceremony. He ſwore, on the faith of a man, of a chriſtian, of a knight, and of a king, to obſerve it inviolably. But the ſuggeſtions of his favorites eaſily effaced the remembrance of theſe promiſes.

A. D. 1258. Conſpiracy of Leiceſter.

Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, ſon to the famous count de Montfort, the hero of the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, ambitious like him under the maſk of piety, took advantage of the preſent conjuncture to form a conſpiracy of the moſt dangerous nature. He had been long eſtabliſhed in England, where his family had lage poſſeſſions. The king had beſtowed on him his ſiſter in mar-

riage [n], had made him earl of Leiceſter, and governor of Guyenne. The inconſtant temper of Henry, and the haughtineſs of this nobleman, could not fail of producing quarrels between them. Leiceſter one day gave the lie to the king, who had called him traitor; and added, "that if he was not his ſovereign, he ſhould repent of this inſult." His addreſs, his political intrigues, his declamations againſt the government, and even againſt the ſtrangers, though he himſelf was one of them; his devout exterior, his apparent zeal for the national liberty, conciliated the friendſhip and confidence of the people, the clergy, and the nobles. Seeing himſelf in a condition to attempt whatever he pleaſed, he forgot all duties. He engaged the barons to unite, in the deſign of reforming the government, or rather of uſurping its authority; for the ſeditious ever color their revolts with the pretence of zeal for the public good. In a parliamentary aſſembly, where the barons appeared in arms, they engaged

[n] Eleanor, dowager of William earl of Pembroke.

to

to grant the king ſubſidies, on condition he applied an effectual remedy to the national diſorders, by truſting power in the hands of men capable of correcting them. Influenced either by fear or hope, he promiſed all that was aſked. He called a new parliament at Oxford, where the plan of reformation was to be ſettled. There, not being able to reſiſt the barons who came attended by their vaſſals, he was obliged to ſubmit to the conditions they preſcribed to him. They ſelected from their own body a council of twenty-four, to whom unlimited authority was given to reform abuſes complained of, and Henry ſwore to put their ordinances in execution. Leiceſter, at the head of this council, governed with abſolute power. Their firſt regulations, according to the uſual policy of uſurpers, appeared favorable to the public. But the monarch ſoon felt the yoke to which he had ſubmitted. He not only ſaw himſelf diſappointed of the ſubſidies he had been made to expect; but his maternal brothers, ſons of the count de la Marche, and queen Iſabella, were baniſhed, as authors of all the evils of which the nation complained.

The barons maſters of the kingdom.

plained. The government of caſtles, all offices, all employments, even about the perſon of the king, were put into hands in whom the barons could confide. Determined to preſerve their authority, and to keep the king in perpetual ſervitude, they impoſed on all his ſubjects an oath to obey them, *for the greater glory of God, the honor of the church, the ſervice of the king, and the advantage of the kingdom*; or rather, what however they dared not ſay, "for their private intereſt, and the ruin of the monarchy." Prince Edward [o], ſon to Henry, whoſe great qualities became afterwards ſo conſpicuous, was obliged, with the reſt of the nation, to take this humiliating ſtep. Richard, king of the Romans, was returning to England. They ſent him a ſummons to take the uſual oath to obſerve the ordinances of the council. On his refuſal, they prepared to treat him like a public enemy; and he was compelled to ſubmit. One of the principal innovations of the uſurpers, was their eſtabliſhing a committee of twelve perſons, who, during the intervals of par- A. D. 1259.

[o] Then eighteen years of age.

liament,

liament, were to exerciſe the whole power of the government. They ordained that the judges, ſent by the king into the different counties, ſhould make the circuit only once in ſeven years. This was to annihilate the weak remains of the royal authority. The king was no longer more than a name. A deſtructive ariſtocracy oppreſſed the ſtate. At length the moſt violent diſcontents broke out againſt theſe tyrants. The knights of the ſhires [p] invited prince Edward [q], to defend the public liberties and the rights of the crown. They demanded loudly, that the barons ſhould finiſh this important plan of reformation, of which they had hitherto found no ſalutary

[p] The repreſentatives of counties now aſſembled regularly as a ſeparate houſe.

[q] The prince replied, that though it was from conſtraint, and contrary to his private ſentiments, he had ſworn to adhere to the proviſions of Oxford, he was determined to obſerve his oath: but he ſent a meſſage to the barons, requiring them to bring their undertaking to a ſpeedy concluſion, and fulfil their engagements to the public: otherwiſe he menaced them, that at the expence of his life, he would oblige them to do their duty, and would ſhed the laſt drop of his blood in promoting the intereſts, and ſatisfying the juſt wiſhes, of the nation. HUME.

effects.

effects. Happily their reciprocal enmity ſeconded the wiſhes of the nation. The earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the heads of the party, became declared enemies to each other; and the firſt retired into France, affecting to intend to mix no further in public affairs.

A king leſs moderate than St. Lewis, would have ſeized this occaſion to conquer from the Engliſh what remained to them in France. This prince, whoſe piety, and ſometimes policy, deſerved the utmoſt admiration, exerted himſelf on the contrary to re-eſtabliſh concord among his neighbours; an undertaking worthy the greatneſs of his ſoul. But a too ſcrupulous piety may lead to aſtoniſhing errors. He was apprehenſive, the ſentence of confiſcation pronounced againſt John was not a lawful title, and reſolved on an intire reſtitution of the confiſcated provinces; he made at length with Henry the third, from whom he might have taken all Guyenne, a treaty, which would have been ſcarce excuſable after a defeat; reſtoring to him the Limouſin, Perigod, Querci, and the Agenois, demanding of him only an unneceſſary renunciation.

Conduct of St. Lewis in regard to England.

renunciation of Normandy, Anjou, &c. already re-united to his crown. This exceſſive delicacy of conſcience is not very conſonant to true policy. The devotion of St. Lewis was at this time ruinous to France. So certain it is, that exceſs, even in good, is a ſpecies of ill.

A. D. 1261. The king recovers his authority.

Henry, ſeeing the diſpoſitions of the people changed in his favor, hoping to re-eſtabliſh an authority of which he now poſſeſſed only the ſhadow, addreſſed himſelf to pope Alexander the fourth, to abſolve him from his vows. The pontiff was very much diſſatisfied with the barons, who had baniſhed the Italian eccleſiaſtics; he was not leſs ſo with the Engliſh clergy, who had oppoſed his arbitrary attempts: and though, in a ſynod held about that time at Oxford, they had carried eccleſiaſtical immunities as far as did St. Thomas of Canterbury, he declared in favor of the crown, and threatened the adverſe party with excommunication. Henry now iſſued a proclamation, reſuming the reins of government; appointed a chancellor, a grand juſticiary, ſheriffs, and governors of caſtles, in the room of

of thoſe named by the council; he repulſed the firſt efforts of the barons to oppoſe him, and reduced them to obedience. But in thoſe ages of weakneſs, and perpetual commotion, one ſudden revolution eaſily ſucceeded another, becauſe armies were formed and diſperſed in a moment. The audacious Leiceſter, who continued ſtill in France, incapable either of ſubmiſſion or repoſe, renewed his intrigues, and was ſoon at the head of a formidable party. He had excited the prince of Wales, who, from the year 1237, was become a vaſſal to the king of England, to revolt. Thirty thouſand Welſh entered the kingdom. Leiceſter repaired thither with his troops; ſeveral barons took arms to ſecond him, they laid all waſte with fire and ſword; the king, unable to reſiſt, confirmed anew the ſtatutes of Oxford; he was deprived of all his rights as before. Prince Edward had hitherto ſcrupulouſly avoided the leaſt violation of his oath of ſubmiſſion to the uſurpers. He at length undertook the defence of the throne.

A. D. 1263. A new rebellion.

Hoſtilities were renewed; as they produced nothing deciſive, a negotiation

tiation was agreed to, and both parties ſolemnly ſwore to ſubmit to the judgement of St. Lewis, in whoſe wiſdom and equity both had an equal confidence. Nothing could have been more glorious to this great king, than to have merited to be choſen arbiter in ſo celebrated a diſpute. His deciſion was favorable to the royalty, ſo unworthily debaſed. He annulled the ſtatutes of the parliament of Oxford, and all that was done in conſequence of them; but declared that he did not intend to derogate from the privileges, liberties, and charters of the nation.

A. D. 1264. Judgement of St. Lewis.

The paſſions will always find pretexts to elude the decrees of juſtice. Leiceſter, notwithſtanding his vow, far from acquieſcing in this equitable ſentence, pretended it was ſelf-contradictory, ſince the proviſions of Oxford were founded on the great charter. The civil war was rekindled with more fury than ever. London embraced the party of the factious; both ſides prepared for a deciſive battle; the two armies met near Lewes in Suſſex. Prince Edward, in the beginning of the action, totally routed the London militia: his ardor carried him

Battle of Lewes.

him too far in the purſuit. Leiceſter profited, like a ſkilful commander, of the diſorder of the royaliſts; attacked the center, took priſoner the king of the Romans, and falling afterwards on the rear, made himſelf maſter alſo of the perſon of the king. Edward, who thought victory certain, was conſtrained to accept the conditions preſcribed by the conqueror. It was agreed, that he [r] ſhould remain priſoner as a hoſtage for the two kings; and that St. Lewis ſhould be deſired to name a certain number of Frenchmen, to ſettle the affairs of government. But nothing could be further from Leiceſter's intention than to take an arbiter, and loſe the fruits of his rebellion. The rights of the ſword with him held the place of juſtice. He violated all his promiſes with the moſt daring effrontery; retained the king priſoner, diſpoſed of all employments, as well as of the crown revenues; amaſſed treaſures for the purpoſe of fixing his dominion; and made a tyrannical uſe of the royal au-

Leiceſter maſter of the kingdom.

[r] With Henry d'Allmain, ſon to the king of the Romans.

thority,

thority, which he exerciſed according to his arbitrary will. The inhabitants of the cinque ports, his declared adherents, ruined commerce by the moſt horrible piracies. He ceaſed to ſpeak of referring their diſputes to the deciſion of the king of France. He braved the pope, who ſtill endeavored to render ſervice to Henry. A legate [s], ſent to promulgate a ſentence of excommunication againſt the rebels, was forbid on pain of death to enter the kingdom. Nothing was wanting to Leiceſter but the crown, to which there was every reaſon to believe he aſpired. To place himſelf above danger, by attaching the nation more ſtrongly to his party, he not only ſummoned to parliament two knights from every county, but deputies from the boroughs. This is the moſt probable epocha of the regular eſtabliſhment of the *houſe of commons*, of which, till this time, we find no traces in hiſtory.

This eſtabliſhment, ſo favorable to liberty, appears equally uſeful to the

[s] Cardinal Guido, afterwards pope Urban the fourth.

ſovereign,

ſovereign, to counter-balance the exceſſive power of the nobles; and had ſoon a very conſiderable influence on all public tranſactions. The tyranny of Leiceſter, notwithſtanding his political talents, could not fail ſooner or later to diſguſt ſome of theſe fierce and haughty barons, who were ill-treated by him in common with the people. The earl of Glouceſter, the moſt powerful of them all, to avoid his oppreſſions, abandoned his cauſe. But that which above all revived the hopes of the royaliſts, was the flight of Edward, a prince infinitely dear to the people, and worthy the general eſteem he poſſeſſed. Leiceſter, to render himſelf leſs odious, had taken him out of priſon: but notwithſtanding had him ſtrictly guarded by his emiſſaries. As the prince was one day taking the air, having propoſed to ride matches, and by that means fatigued them; he mounted a horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs, provided for that purpoſe by Glouceſter, and calling to them, "that he had long enough enjoyed the happineſs of their company, and now bid them a laſt adieu," happily eſcaped.

He

Defeat of Leiceſter.

He was ſoon at the head of an army, marched againſt Leiceſter, defeated Simon de Montfort, his ſon, who was coming to his aſſiſtance, and preſented himſelf before him, in order of battle, at Eveſham in Worceſterſhire. Leiceſter immediately perceived the ſuperiority of the royaliſts. *They have learnt of me*, ſaid he; ſeeing their admirable diſpoſition: *God have mercy on our ſouls, for I ſee our bodies are Edward's.* His army, greatly weakened by want of bread, made little reſiſtance; the Welſh fled in confuſion. Leiceſter was killed in the action. Equally brave and wiſe, a hero and a ſtateſman, juſtly odious for his enterprizes, a victim to his ambition, and ſo much the more guilty, as he poſſeſſed every talent to command eſteem and admiration. He covered the crime of rebellion by an exterior of the ſtricteſt piety. The people, eaſily duped by hypocriſy, regarded him as a ſaint, and believed miracles were wrought at his tomb. We are leſs ſurprized at this, than to to ſee Rapin making it a queſtion, "Whether there is more cauſe to blame than to pity him?"

The

The activity and courage of Edward ſoon reduced the remains of the rebels to ſubmiſſion. Adam de Gourdon defended himſelf for ſome time in the foreſts [t], infeſting the neighbourhood by his excurſions. The prince flew to attack him. Theſe two brave champions ſignalized themſelves in a very extraordinary combat. Gourdon, wounded, diſmounted, and made priſoner, experienced the generoſity of his conqueror [u], became his friend, and ſerved him with great fidelity during the reſt of his life. Edward ſubdues the rebels.

This revolution was productive only of the moſt happy effects. The king reſpected the *great charter*. His clemency ſpared the guilty, pecuniary puniſhments alone were inflicted, and even thoſe were extremely ſoftened. London merited the moſt rigorous treatment. Its privileges were taken away, but reſtored ſome time after.

[t] Of Hampſhire.

[u] He not only granted him his life; but introduced him that very night to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, reſtored him to his eſtate, received him into favor, and was ever after very faithfully ſerved by him. HUME.

The earl of Glouceſter hurried this city a ſecond time into rebellion, in the year 1267. Edward had occaſion for a great army to quell the ſeditious. It coſt, however, the principal leader no more than a promiſe of not rebelling again, under the penalty of twenty thouſand marks. So neceſſary it was to keep meaſures with the barons, who did not willingly ſee their peers ſubjected to the rigor of the feudal laws, leſt the example might one day be brought againſt themſelves. After ſuch important ſervices rendered to the crown, the prince, excited by the ſolicitations of St. Lewis, delivered himſelf up to that paſſion for the cruſades which a long and fatal experience had not yet weakened. He embarked to join the French hero in Africa. On his arrival, he found him dead; this circumſtance did not prevent his continuing his voyage to the Holy land. Whilſt his courage there ſtruck terror into the Mahometans, England, under an old king incapable of governing, experienced anew the oppreſſions of the great, and the diſorders of anarchy. Henry re-called a ſon, without whom he was unable to

A. D. 1270. The laſt cruſade.

maintain the dignity of his ſtation. He died overwhelmed with cares, and deprived of this neceſſary aſſiſtance, in the fifty-ſixth [w] year of his reign [x].

No prince was ever by nature further from tyranny than Henry, whoſe temper was mild and yielding even to exceſs. But as extremes are apt to touch, his weakneſs produced all the miſeries of deſpotiſm.

Hiſtorians praiſe highly his devotion, and cite theſe words of his to St. Lewis, againſt whom he maintained the inferiority of ſermons to maſſes: *I would rather converſe one hour with a friend, than hear twenty of the moſt elaborate diſcourſes in his praiſe.*

A very remarkable diſpute happened during his reign, on the ſubject of baſtardy. According to the civil law, the children born before wedlock were deemed baſtards; but by the canon law, they were legitimate. As the biſhops and judges diſagreed in this Baſtardy.

[w] And ſixty-fourth of his age.

[x] Henry left two ſons; Edward, his ſucceſſor, and Edmond, earl of Leiceſter; and two daughters, Margaret, queen of Scotland; and Beatrix, dutcheſs of Britanny. He had five other children, who died in their infancy. HUME.

point, they changed the ſtyle of demanding of the eccleſiaſtical courts, in caſe of litigation, whether a child was legitimate or not, and only aſked, whether it was born before or after marriage. The biſhops complained of this innovation, in the parliament held at Merton, and received this anſwer from the barons, *We will not change the laws of England.* The falſe decretals [*y*], and the eſtabliſhments of the mendicant religious orders, contributed greatly in this age to ſupport the authority of the popes, which began to decline.

A. D. 1236.

State of commerce.

Though the national commerce was greatly increaſed ſince the Conqueſt, it was ſtill exceedingly limited. The intereſt of money ſometimes roſe to

Jews robbers.

[*y*] For this purpoſe, Gregory the ninth publiſhed his decretals, which are a collection of forgeries, favourable to the court of Rome, and conſiſt of the ſuppoſed decrees of popes in the firſt centuries. But theſe forgeries are ſo groſs, and confound ſo palpably all language, hiſtory, chronology, and antiquities, matters more ſtubborn than any ſpeculative truths whatever; that even that church, which is not ſtartled at the moſt monſtrous contradictions and abſurdities, has been obliged to abandon them to the critics. HUME.

fifty

fifty *per cent.* An exorbitant uſury retained the Jews in the kingdom, in ſpite of the exactions to which they were expoſed, for which, however, they knew how to indemnify themſelves. Henry the third demanded of them twenty thouſand marks in 1241, thirty thouſand from one only in 1250, and eight thouſand in 1255. As they deſired permiſſion to retire; the king anſwered them, "that he had not a farthing, and that he muſt have money, from any hand, and by all kind of ways." To ſuch a ſtate of humiliation and abaſement had this prince reduced himſelf, by his want of œconomy, and rage for enriching his foreign favorites! The example of the court authorized every ſpecies of rapine. London, with other great cities, and even the country, were over-run with robbers, though in time of peace. Two Flemiſh merchants complained to the king, in 1249, of having been entirely ſtripped by robbers, "who were," they ſaid, "well known to them, ſince they ſaw them every day at his court."

## EDWARD the Firſt. [z]

THE abſence of this prince, who had quitted the kingdom where he was ſo much wanted, to go and combat uſeleſsly in Paleſtine, would have doubtleſs occaſioned revolts and civil wars, if the eſteem due to his uncommon merits had not in ſome degree ſupplied the place of his preſence. The council proclaimed him. The ſtates took the oath of fidelity, and the earl of Glouceſter himſelf preſſed eagerly to ſet an example of ſubmiſſion. Edward learnt in Sicily the death of his father, and at the ſame time that of his infant ſon. He expreſſed much leſs ſorrow for the ſecond loſs than the firſt. The king of Sicily [a] appearing aſtoniſhed at this, *The loſs of a ſon*, ſaid he, *may be repaired, but that of a father is irreparable*. In his paſſage through Burgundy, he was challenged by the prince of Chalons, who was then holding a tournament. The warriors of thoſe days ambitiouſly ſought oc-

[z] There were three kings of this name before William the Conqueror; but it has been cuſtomary to count only from the Conqueſt.

[a] Charles, count of Anjou.

caſions

caſions to ſignalize their ſkill and courage. He acquired there too much glory not to excite envy. It is ſaid, that the French knights, jealous of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh, attacked them as enemies, and were defeated with a great effuſion of blood.

Theſe military ſports, very conformable to the genius of a race of nobles who breathed nothing but arms and war, might by a very eaſy tranſition become ſerious, and be the occaſion of the moſt violent quarrels and carnage.

The kingdom was in a ſtate of ſuch perfect tranquillity, that the king made no haſte to return. He did homage to Philip the Hardy for the provinces he held in France. He paſſed into Guyenne, to re-eſtabliſh order there. At length he yielded himſelf to the ardent wiſhes of his people, impatient to receive him. England ſoon experienced, that the wiſdom of a government makes the happineſs and glory of a ſtate. To remedy great diſorders, the ſtricteſt juſtice is abſolutely neceſſary. Edward made it his firſt and principal duty. The *Great Charter* was the rule of his conduct towards A. D. 1274. 1275.

the barons. He obliged them alſo to obſerve it towards their vaſſals; he bridled their inſolence and power, equally dangerous to the nation and the crown. He took care to appoint judges capable, by their courage and abilities, to ſupport the execution of the laws; and gave them an authority, which rendered them ſuperior to the utmoſt force of the guilty. The provinces were full of robbers and aſſaſſins; he ſent thither commiſſaries authorized to try the more atrocious crimes, and to do inſtant juſtice on the criminals. Theſe illegal commiſſions, a deſperate remedy for an evil not leſs deſperate, whilſt they deſtroyed the more abandoned villains, ſpread univerſal terror, becauſe they exceeded the bounds of law: Edward had the prudence to ſuppreſs them, the moment he judged them no longer neceſſary to the peace of ſociety.

Severities againſt the Jews.

The hatred and prejudice againſt the Jews was at this time ſo ſtrong, that every man fancied himſelf authorized to diſpenſe even with the laws of humanity with reſpect to them. Crimes the moſt abſurd and improbable were imputed to them, and they were all puniſhed

puniſhed for the real offences of a few. The adulteration of the coin, which was regarded as their work, was made the pretence of a ſevere perſecution. Two hundred and eighty of theſe unhappy people were hanged at London on this account; a great number were ruined by confiſcations. Though Edward reſerved a moiety of this money to beſtow on ſuch amongſt them as ſhould become converts, very few embraced Chriſtianity, which they unjuſtly accuſed of authorizing the barbarity then too common amongſt Chriſtians. They were all in 1270, to the amount of fifteen thouſand, baniſhed the kingdom, after having been in the moſt mercileſs manner deſpoiled of whatever they poſſeſſed. Violence ſeldom deſtroys thoſe abuſes which have their ſource in the paſſions. The government in vain flattered itſelf that uſury was baniſhed with the Jews. The prohibition of lending money on uſury, and the neceſſity of borrowing, cauſed the uſurers, who were expoſed to informations and penalties, to exact a more exorbitant intereſt. Good laws would have applied a better remedy to this

State of the finances.

evil; but good laws ſuppoſe lights which thoſe times had not. The laſt reigns having impoveriſhed the crown, the king found, in œconomy, reſources which did honor to the wiſdom of his adminiſtration. The pope granted him for three years the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues; the merchants conſented to a perpetual tax on the exportation of wool and ſkins; the parliament alſo gave him aſſiſtance [*b*]: an exact inquiry was made into all the frauds and encroachments which had injured the finances. It was dangerous to puſh theſe enquiries too far. The commiſſioners having demanded of earl Warrenne, a powerful baron, diſtinguiſhed by his ſervices, the titles of his poſſeſſions, he drew his ſword, and replied fiercely, *William the Baſtard did not conquer this kingdom for himſelf alone; one of my anceſtors was the companion of the Conqueror; and I will keep what from that time has remained undiſputed in my family.* The king had too much prudence not to drop an inqueſt of ſo invidious a nature.

[*b*] A fifteenth on all moveables. HUME.

His

His active ſpirit ſoon found employment out of the kingdom, after having eſtabliſhed interior juſtice and good order. Lewellyn, or Leolyn, prince of Wales, who had been an ally of the rebels in the laſt reign, having refuſed to come into England to do homage for his principality, which Henry the third had rendered dependent on his crown, the king penetrated into the country, paſſed mountains [c] hitherto inacceſſible to the Engliſh troops, and took ſuch wiſe precautions that Leolyn was reduced by famine to accept whatever conditions he choſe to preſcribe. The Welſh, oppreſſed, and become a prey to the violence of their neighbors, revolted ſome time after. Edward ſeized the opportunity to compleat his deſign. Leolyn periſhed in battle. David, his brother and ſucceſſor, chaced from mountain to mountain, was delivered by treachery into the monarch's hands; who brought him to a formal trial in England, and cauſ-

A. D. 1276. Conqueſt of Wales.

A. D. 1283. Cruelties.

[c] He cauſed there a very large way to be cut through a vaſt foreſt, opening by that means, a paſſage to the very center of Wales. RAPIN.

ed him to be hanged as a vile robber and a traitor, inſtead of honoring him as a generous defender of his country and his dominions. Such was ſtill the ferocity of the greateſt princes, unhappy in not having yet learnt to be men. *The Bards*, or Welſh poets, were devoted to maſſacre, ſo much Edward feared the impreſſion their ſongs might make on hearts naturally jealous of liberty. The principality of Wales, annexed for ever to the crown, gave, from this time, title to the eldeſt ſons of the kings of England. This conqueſt appeared ſo compleat and well-eſtabliſhed, that Edward ventured to go into France, to reconcile Philip the fair, and Alphonſo, king of Arragon, who were at variance on account of the kingdom of Sicily. Three years of the ſovereign's abſence had weakened extremely the authority of the laws. At his return he found the moſt fatal of all evils, the judges become entirely corrupt. He called a parliament, and cauſed them to be proſecuted. All, except the eccleſiaſtics, were convicted, deprived of their offices, and condemned to pay fines, of which

A. D. 1289. Corruption of the Judges.

which the ſum total amounted to a hundred thouſand marks; a ſingular proof of the exceſs to which this abuſe had been carried. The king obliged the new judges to ſwear they would never receive any preſent. But the expedient of depoſing and fining the old ones, was, as Mr. Hume obſerves, a remedy much more efficacious.

Affairs of Scotland.

The famous diſpute on account of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland, opened a vaſt career to the ambition of this enterprizing prince.

Having formed the deſign of uniting the two crowns, he had married his ſon to Margaret [*d*], granddaughter and heireſs of the king of Scotland. Margaret died ſuddenly [*e*]. A. D. 1291.

[*d*] He attempted, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldeſt ſon Edward, to unite the whole iſland into one monarchy, and thereby to give it full ſecurity, both againſt domeſtic convulſions and foreign invaſion. But this project, ſo happily formed and ſo amicably conducted, failed of ſucceſs by the ſudden death of the Norvegian princeſs, who expired on her paſſage to Scotland, and left a very diſmal proſpect to the kingdom. HUME.

[*e*] The marriage was concluded and reſolved upon, to the general ſatisfaction of the two nations. The princeſs, whom the king her

The

The right of ſucceſſion paſſed into another branch of the royal family, who have reigned ever ſince that time. The two principal competitors were Robert Bruce, and John Baliol or Bailleul, both deſcendants, by the females, from the brother of William, heretofore priſoner to Henry the ſecond. Bruce was ſon to the youngeſt daughter; Baliol, grandſon of the eldeſt: the firſt had conſequently the advantage of one degree of proximity, the ſecond that of the right of primogeniture, eſtabliſhed by tne feudal laws. The Scots, a rude and ignorant people, more incapable than others of determining ſo perplexed an affair, divided into ſeveral parties, and threatened with a civil war, agreed to refer it to the deciſion of the king of England, as the Engliſh had ſubmitted their diſputes to the arbitration of Lewis the eleventh. They did not foreſee, that Edward would abuſe this confidence by invading their liberty.

father had promiſed to ſend to England before the month of October, ſet out accordingly from Norway, and died in a certain iſland, where ſhe was conſtrained to put in for refreſhment. RAPIN.

To

To furniſh an ambitious man with an opportunity of becoming an uſurper, is to arm an enemy againſt one's-ſelf. The king immediately conceived the deſign of ſubjecting Scotland to the Engliſh crown. He ordered a compilation to be made of all the paſſages in the ancient chronicles which could give color to this pretenſion. But he was able to produce only one eſſential proof of his claim, the forced homage which William had done to Henry the ſecond; by which he acknowledged himſelf his vaſſal; and as Richard the firſt had authentically renounced this homage [*f*], the in-

Pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Scotland.

[*f*] When William, king of Scotland, was taken priſoner in the battle of Alnwic, he was obliged, for the recovery of his liberty, to ſwear fealty to the victor for his crown itſelf: the deed was performed according to all the rites of the feudal law: the record was preſerved in the Engliſh archives, as well as mentioned by all hiſtorians: but as it is the only one of the kind, and as hiſtorians ſpeak of this ſuperiority as a great acquiſition gained by the fortunate arms of Henry the ſecond, there can remain no doubt, that the kingdom of Scotland was, in all former periods, entirely free and independent. Its ſubjection continued a very few years: king Richard, deſirous before his departure for the Holy land, to conciliate the

dependance

Edward attacks the independance of the Scots.

dependance of Scotland [g] ought not to admit of a diſpute.

Furniſhed with all the proofs, however unconvincing, that he could draw together, he appeared on the frontiers [b] with an army, which was his moſt powerfull argument. He invited the parliament of Scotland, with all the competitors, to join him there; and declared, he demanded to determine the diſpute, not as an arbiter, but as the lord paramount, who had a right to pronounce judgement. This was a clap of thunder to men unprovided to maintain their rights againſt uſurpation. The barons had

friendſhip of William, renounced that homage which, he ſays in expreſs terms, had been extorted by his father; and he only retained the uſual homage which had been done by the Scottiſh princes for the lands which they held in England. HUME.

[g] Certainly there is reaſon to think it ſtrange, that the Scots ſhould find nothing to oppoſe to theſe proofs, the greateſt part whereof are very weak, not to ſay altogether frivolous. But it muſt be conſidered, that they were in England, over-awed by the preſence of the king; and that Bruce and Baliol, who were in great credit, did all that lay in their power to prevent any incidents which might retard the deciſion of the main affair. RAPIN.

[b] At Norham.

however

however the courage, according to an eſteemed hiſtorian [*i*], to reply, "That till they had a king, they could determine nothing on a point ſo very important." This reply, or their ſilence, was taken for a formal acquieſcence. The competitors, to the number of ten, beſides the two principal ones, acknowledged the ſovereignty of their judge. Bruce ſet the example, which Baliol very unwillingly followed. After appointing commiſſioners to diſcuſs the rights of the claimants, Edward obliged them to put all the fortreſſes of the kingdom into his hands, and retired, promiſing to pronounce ſentence the following year. They conſulted the moſt celebrated lawyers in Europe. The ſyſtem of repreſentation then ſo generally prevailed, that their anſwers were uniformly in Baliol's favor. The king adjudged the crown to him, received anew his oath of fidelity, put him in poſſeſſion of his dominions, and withdrew his garriſons; but, by frequent citations to his court, where he obliged him to appear in perſon, made him

Sentence in favor of Baliol.

[*i*] Walſingham.

feel

feel the weight of his dependance. He probably intended to provoke him to a revolt, which might furniſh a pretence to confiſcate his kingdom. The Scots prince, irritated at ſuch treatment, notwithſtanding the gentleneſs of his nature, determined to act as a ſovereign, and ſeize the firſt occaſion to ſhake off ſo humiliating a yoke.

War with France.

A quarrel between two ſailors, one Engliſh, the other Norman, became the ſource of one of the moſt terrible wars that ever deſolated Europe. The Normans, to revenge their countryman, killed in this quarrel, attacked an Engliſh veſſel, and hanged up a part of the ſhip's crew. Numerous fleets infeſted the ſeas, without the two kings having had any diſpute: at length, after a naval combat, in which the French are ſaid to have loſt fifteen thouſand men, Philip the Fair demanded ſatisfaction of Edward, and, diſſatisfied with his reply, cited him, as duke of Guyenne, to appear before his peers. The king ſent his brother Edmond to terminate this diſpute. This prince, according to Rapin and the Engliſh hiſtorians, was

was empowered to conclude a treaty with Philip, by which the monarch was put in poſſeſſion of Guyenne [k], which he promiſed immediately to reſtore. They add, that when Philip found himſelf maſter of this province, far from fulfilling his promiſe, he cited Edward, and, on his non-appearance, paſſed ſentence of confiſcation.

Guyenne confiſcated by Philip the Fair.

This [l] improbable recital, taken from a memoir of doubtful authenticity, is rejected as a chimera by the

[k] Jane (qeeen of France, daughter-in-law to Edmond) pretended to interpoſe with her good offices: Mary, the queen dowager, feigned the ſame amicable diſpoſition; and theſe two princeſſes told Edmond, that the circumſtance the moſt difficult to adjuſt, was the point of honor with Philip, who thought himſelf affronted by the injuries committed againſt him by his ſub-vaſſals in Guyenne: but if once Edward would conſent to give him ſeiſin and poſſeſſion of that province, he would think his honor fully repaired, would engage to reſtore it immediately, and would accept of a very eaſy ſatisfaction for all the other injuries. HUME.

[l] This is the ſubſtance of a memorial in the collection of public acts, wherein prince Edmond himſelf gives an account of this affair, and the manner how it was tranſacted from the beginning of the negotiation. It may indeed be objected, that it is one of the parties which ſpeaks, and conſequently one is not obliged to give credit to his teſtimony, But beſides the French

French hiſtorians. All on which we can pronounce with certainty is, that Guyenne was confiſcated and united to the crown, and that Philip had not the trouble to invade it. The rapidity of this conqueſt might alone give an air of probability to the ſuppoſition of a treaty which never exiſted.

A revolt of the Welſh, and the fear that their example might be followed in Scotland, retained Edward in the kingdom: his generals retook ſome places in Guyenne, from whence they were ſoon after driven; a French army paſſed the ſea, and burnt Dover, but retired without gaining any advantage. At length the king of France entered into a ſecret alliance with the king of Scotland; which gave birth to the ſtrict union between the two crowns, ſo long enemies to England.

A. D. 1295. Parliament.

In theſe perilous conjunctures, Edward had often recourſe to parliamentary

plain and natural manner wherein the memorial is penned, the conqueſt of Guienne, without ſieges and battles, makes the relation very likely. Moreover, we find in the collection abovementioned, ſeveral of Edward's letters, complaining of having been tricked by the king of France. RAPIN.

mentary ſubſidies, which the great changes in the conſtitution made neceſſary. He ſummoned the deputies of boroughs, or what are properly called *the commons*, whoſe only power was at firſt limited to that of giving their conſent to the taxes which were to be raiſed on the people. This expedient had been originally made uſe of by the earl of Leiceſter. Edward now reduced it to a fixed regulation: *Becauſe*, ſaid he, in his order addreſſed to the ſheriffs, *it is equitable, that all approve the meaſures in which all are intereſted, and that common dangers be repelled by common efforts*; a maxim which one would ſuppoſe to have been the production of a more enlightened age. The inferior clergy were ſummoned with the ſame intention: but whether they were unwilling to acknowledge the temporal authority, now expoſed to the boldeſt attacks, or that they feared to load themſelves with new impoſitions, after having already paid extraordinary ones, they pretended they could not aſſemble without an order from the biſhops. This order having been obtained, they granted a tenth of all moveables, inſtead

The commons.

ſtead of a fifth which the monarch had aſked; the barons and knights without difficulty granted an eleventh, and the deputies of boroughs a ſeventh.

A. D. 1296. Theſe ſubſidies were employed againſt the king of Scotland. His treaty with Philip the Fair furniſhed a pretext to invade him. Summoned to perform the duty of vaſſalage, cited to the Engliſh parliament, he refuſed to obey, and, having obtained from the pope a diſpenſation from his oath of fidelity, he braved the king of England even to the point of ſending him an open defiance. The Scots army amounted to forty thouſand men: that of Edward was leſs numerous; nothing notwithſtanding could reſiſt him. Berwick, Dunbar, Edinburgh, Sterling, made a very feeble defence. Baliol timidly ſubmitted, reſigned his crown into the hands of the conqueror, and was conducted a priſoner to England. The victors took away a famous ſtone [*m*], on which the kings of Scot-

[*m*] Keneth, king of the Scots, having made a general ſlaughter of the Picts, near the monaſtery of Scone, placed a ſtone there, incloſed in a wooden chair, for the inaugaration of the kings. It had been brought out of Ireland into land

land were ſeated on the day of their coronation, and which popular ſuperſtition regarded as an eternal pledge of independence. All the great offices of the kingdom were entruſted to Engliſhmen. Scotland ſeemed enſlaved for ever.

There remained now to Edward, only the ambition of revenging himſelf on France. His brother, the earl of Lancaſter, not having met with ſucceſs in Guyenne, he propoſed to attack Philip's dominions, to force him to a reſtitution. The parliament gave him new ſubſidies; but the reſiſtance of the clergy gave birth to very memorable diſturbances.

A. D. 1297. The clergy refuſe money to the king.

Pope Boniface the eighth, ſo celebrated for his attempts againſt crowned heads, and particularly for his diſputes with Philip the Fair, had prohibited all princes from raiſing, without his conſent, any kind of taxes on eccleſiaſtics, and had forbid the

Argile, and king Edward cauſed it to be conveyed to Weſtminſter. On it was engraven this diſtich:

"Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
"Inveniunt Lapidem, regnare tenentur
"ibidem." RAPIN, Camb.

latter

latter to pay them; on pain of excommunication, to whoever diſobeyed this bull: a prohibition the more ſingular, as ſeveral of the laſt popes had given up to the kings, on different occaſions, a part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues. Edward, like Philip, was of a temper to paſs all bounds rather than ſuffer any one to give him law. He demanded of the clergy a fifth of all moveables. They pleaded the pope's bull, and the obedience they owed him as their firſt ſovereign. He replied, "That by refuſing to aſſiſt the civil government, they rendered themſelves unworthy to receive benefit from it; and that the clergy ſhould immediately be put out of the protection of the laws." Directions were given to the judges to admit no cauſes, on the part of the eccleſiaſtics, to be brought before them; but to try and adjudge all which ſhould come againſt them. Expoſed to inſult and violence, they ſoon felt that the greateſt of all evils is that of not enjoying the advantage of citizenſhip; they ſought means to ſatisfy the king and the ſtate: and, to avoid diſobeying Boniface openly, inſtead of

The king puniſhes them.

of a fifth demanded, they paid a ſum which was a full equivalent.

Diſcontent of the barons.

The money given by the clergy and the parliament being inſufficient for his neceſſities, Edward had recourſe to arbitrary methods of raiſing it, too conformable to his natural inclinations. He levied a tax of forty ſhillings on every ſack of wool; forced the people to furniſh proviſions for his army, and to accept a promiſe of payment, diſtant and uncertain: he even proceeded to order ſuch as did not hold of the crown, to pay that military ſervice to which by their tenures they were not obliged. Theſe illegal meaſures cauſed univerſal complaints. The [*n*] conſtable and [*o*] marſhal of England, refuſed to conduct an army in Guyenne, whilſt the king carried his arms into Flanders. *By God*, ſaid the king, ſpeaking to the conſtable, *you ſhall either march, or be hanged. By God*, anſwered this nobleman, *I will neither march, nor be hanged*, and retired immediately,

[*n*] Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford.
[*o*] Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk.

followed by a great number of the moſt conſiderable barons.

The king corrects his imprudence.

Edward endeavored by the prudence of his conduct to efface the memory of this indiſcreet warmth. He courted the nobles, and reconciled himſelf to the clergy; he juſtified his conduct by diſplaying his wants, and the difficulties of his ſituation: he promiſed, at his return from this expedition, to give his attention to the maintenance of the laws, and of national liberty. Scarce, however, had he left the kingdom, when the conſtable and marſhal, though their reſentment was at an end, inſiſted anew on the obſervance of the great charter, and that of foreſts; of which, they aſſerted, it was of the utmoſt importance to obtain an authentic confirmation. The king very reluctantly yielded to this requeſt of the parliament. He at length confirmed the two charters. The firſt has been ever ſince regarded as the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution, notwithſtanding the wounds it had reaſon to fear from the prerogatives of the crown.

Boniface the eighth mediates between

The count of Flanders, in alliance with the Engliſh, experienced ſoon the courage and the vengeance of Philip

the

the Fair. Liſle, St. Omer, Courtrai, Ypres, were taken by his forces. Edward arrived at the head of fifty thouſand men. The two kings, inſtead of giving battle, agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and accepted pope Boniface the eighth's mediation; not as a judge, but as an arbiter of their difference: a mortifying clauſe to this imperious pontiff. He had deceived Philip by an appearance of reconciliation: enmity alone dictated his award. He not only decreed the reſtitution of Guyenne, but alſo of whatever had been taken from the count of Flanders, whoſe revolt was indiſputable. The peace was however concluded between the two kings, and cemented by a double marriage. Philip gave his ſiſter to Edward, now a widower, and his daughter to his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales. The Engliſh monarch gave up the earl of Flanders to Philip's revenge, who on his ſide abandoned the king of Scotland to the reſentment of Edward; both ſacrificing their allies to the ambition of extending their conqueſts.

Philip the Fair and Edward.

The Scots had taken advantage of their conqueror's abſence, to deliver

Revolt of the Scots.

themſelves from ſervitude. A hero, named William Wallace or Walleys, of an ancient family, but inconſiderable fortune; of a gigantic ſtrength, and a courage ſtill more uncommon, fired with indignation at the oppreſſion under which his country groaned, aſſembled a band of fugitives and outlaws, and became ſoon celebrated by his ſkirmiſhes with the Engliſh. His reputation, and the general diſcontent, procured him ſoldiers. He defeated an army of forty thouſand men, commanded by earl Warrenne. Creſſingham, who, in quality of treaſurer, had ſhamefully pillaged the kingdom, was killed in this action. He had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the Scotch flead him, and made ſaddles and girths of his ſkin. Wallace, revered as the ſaviour of the nation, and appointed regent of the kingdom during the captivity of Baliol, penetrated courageouſly into England, carried fire and ſword even into the neighbourhood of Durham, and returned loaded with ſpoils and with glory.

Edward in Scotland.

Edward, having nothing ſo much at heart as to keep Scotland in ſubjection, as ſoon as he had made a truce with

with France, haſtened to England, that he might, by his obſervance of the great charter, regain the affections of his people, and march againſt the revolted Scots. Wallace had experienced, that the greateſt merit is never ſecure from the attacks of envy. To gratify the nobles, jealous of his authority, he reſigned the regency, reſerving only the command of his own troop. The Scots were unable to ſuſtain the efforts of an army ſuperior by its excellent diſcipline, as well as by the ſkill of the Engliſh archers, particularly formidable in action. They were defeated but not ſubdued, for the northern provinces, whither Wallace retired with the broken remains of the army, refuſed to ſubmit to the conqueror.

A. D. 1300. Pretenſions of the pope and of the king in reſpect to Scotland.

Scotland ſolicited in vain the protection of Philip the Fair; but pope Boniface the eighth undertook its defence, rather in the ſtyle of a ſovereign than that of a common father. Such was the cuſtom of this haughty pontiff. In a brief which he addreſſed to the Engliſh monarch, after invalidating his ideal pretenſions on Scotland, he advanced as a certainty beyond all

diſpute, that this kingdom, from its beginning to the preſent hour, had ever belonged to the holy ſee. To this chimerical claim, Edward oppoſed others as chimerical. He maintained in his anſwer, that Scotland had always been dependant on England, from the time even of Brutus the Trojan, by whom he ſuppoſed the monarchy to have been founded, in the days of Samuel the Prophet. He aſſerted as a fact well known, and aſcertained by ancient hiſtorical monuments, that the Engliſh monarchs had often given the kingdom of Scotland to their ſubjects; and had dethroned the kings of Scotland their vaſſals, whenever they were guilty of any act of diſobedience. He inſiſted that the homage of William (which was the firſt of that nature, and aboliſhed in the next reign) demonſtrated an inconteſtable right. Theſe abſurd arguments were, on both ſides, founded on that paſſion for dominion which is ever fruitful in imaginary titles. An hundred and four barons, aſſembled at Lincoln, ſupported the king's opinion; and informed Boniface, that by producing theſe proofs before him, they by no means

meant to acknowledge him as a judge who had a right to decide; that the crown of England was free, and they would not permit even the king himſelf to ſacrifice its independence. They had obſerved a different conduct under king John. Though their ſentiments were now changed, the nation continued to pay the tribute of a thouſand marks, impoſed on John under the name of a *cenſus*, which demonſtrates the need they ſtill had of him in a multitude of affairs.

A. D. 1303. War with Scotland.

The love of liberty again armed the Scots, under the command of Cummin, regent of the kingdom. They gained in one day three victories. The Engliſh were driven from the field. Edward, with a freſh army, and a numerous fleet, ſoon repaired this misfortune. He now diſplayed all the violence of an implacable conqueror, abrogated the laws of the country, deſtroyed the monuments of antiquity, the hiſtories and regiſters, and ſeemed deſirous to annihilate even the name of this nation. The brave Wallace, betrayed by the confident of all his ſecrets [*p*], was delivered into the hands

[*p*] Sir John Monteith.

of

of the conqueror, who had the cruelty to put him to death as a traitor, though he had never taken any oath of fidelity to him.

A. D. 1306. Bruce delivers Scotland.

This hero was replaced by another, Robert Bruce, ſon to Baliol's competitor, who determined to ſupport the rights of his birth, and to deliver his country. The death of Baliol increaſed his pretenſions to the throne. He intruſted his deſigns to Cummin. This treacherous friend imparted them to Edward. Bruce was at his court, where he was informed all his motions was obſerved, and that he had every thing to fear. He contrived to eſcape, appeared ſuddenly in Scotland, in the midſt of an aſſembly of the nobles, diſcovered to them his ſentiments, and exhorted them to break their chains, and revenge their fellow-citizens. Cummin alone was unmoved by his arguments. Bruce, who was not ignorant of his perfidy, attacked him coming out of the aſſembly, and threw him to the ground. *Is the traitor dead?* ſaid Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick. *I believe ſo*, replied Bruce. *What*, ſaid Kirkpatrick, *is that a matter to be left in uncertainty? I will ſecure him.* He ran inſtantly and

and ſtabbed Cummin. This action was praiſed as an heroic effect of patriotiſm. The Scots ſeized with ardor the hope of liberty. Oppreſſion rekindled their courage. They crowned Bruce; they drove out the Engliſh. Edward ſent troops, who gained a victory. He was preparing to enter the kingdom himſelf, and to deſtroy all with fire and ſword, when he expired at Carliſle, commanding his ſon to ſubdue, and puniſh the Scots. *Order my bones*, ſaid he, *to be carried before, for the ſight of them will intimidate the rebels.* He died [q] aged ſixty-eight years [r]. This monarch, *whoſe*

A. D. 1307. Death of Edward the firſt.

[q] In the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

[r] Edward had by his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, four ſons; but Edward his heir and ſucceſſor was the only one that ſurvived him. She alſo bore him eleven daughters, moſt of whom died in their infancy: Joan, was married firſt to the earl of Glouceſter, and after his death to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret, eſpouſed John duke of Brabant; Elizabeth, eſpouſed firſt, John earl of Holland, and afterwards the earl of Hereford; Mary, was a nun at Ambreſbury. He had by his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, two ſons and a daughter; Thomas, created earl of Norfolk and mareſchal of England; and Edmond, who was created earl of Kent by his brother when king: the princeſs died in her infancy.

*diſtinguiſhing*

*diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic*, if we will believe Abbe Velly, *was ferocity, and whoſe only law, ambition*, had in reality a much greater ſhare of virtues than of vices, and merits praiſe infinitely more than cenſure. If he often exerciſed an arbitrary authority, if he was unjuſt in reſpect to Scotland, and ſometimes cruel to his enemies; it ought alſo to be remembered, that his activity, his courage, his policy, his prudence, his zeal for juſtice, procured to his kingdom advantages equally valuable and permanent. He has been called the Engliſh Juſtinian, and this glorious appellation ought to cover the blemiſhes of his life.

Laws of Edward.

He fixed the juriſdiction of the different tribunals; he eſtabliſhed juſtices of the peace; and brought the ſeditious and turbulent humor of the barons to ſubmit to the reſtraints of law: but he imprudently granted them the means of maintaining their power, by permitting them to intail their eſtates. More politic towards the clergy, whoſe unalienable domains would naturally increaſe without meaſure, he poſitively prohibited to them all new acquiſitions of lands. He prevented

prevented the popes from naming to benefices before they were vacant, an abuſe then become very frequent, and the generals of religious orders reſident at Rome from raiſing impoſitions on the convents, another abuſe which drew conſiderable ſums out of the kingdom. The ardor this prince expreſſed for the cruſades, ought to be regarded as the paſſion of a hero. Fortunately it remained inactive.

Conſtitution of the parliament. The two houſes.

The great work of this legiſlator was the new form he gave to the parliament. It has been already obſerved, that the military ſervice due to the ſovereign had been changed into ſcutages, or pecuniary ſuccours. The fiefs being, from a variety of cauſes, conſiderably diminiſhed; and the rolls, which were careleſsly kept, rendering it eaſy to give in fraudulent accounts, theſe contributions were reduced almoſt to nothing, as well as the number of troops which he had a right to expect his vaſſals to furniſh. To ſupply theſe deficiencies, it became neceſſary to tax the people. During the laſt ages, the ſovereigns of Europe had favored this body, the moſt numerous, the moſt uſeful, and the moſt

moſt ſubmiſſive, part of their ſubjects. The eſtabliſhments of corporations, liberty, and the privileges of commerce, had taken them from that ſervile and abject ſtate into which they had fallen under the feudal government. To avoid exciting murmurs, and a ſpirit of ſedition, it was determined to aſk the conſent of the people to the taxes which the public occaſions made it neceſſary to impoſe on them. Edward thought the beſt expedient was to aſſemble, as the earl of Leiceſter had done, deputies choſen by the boroughs, and authorized to agree to theſe impoſitions. In the beginning, far from acting as legiſlators, they were without conſideration or credit. The barons, and the knights under the appellation of the leſſer barons, did not deign to ſit or deliberate with them. When they had given their conſent to the impoſt, they ſeparated; and the parliament ſtill continued to ſit, and conſult on public affairs. The commons gradually gained ground. Their members, united by one common intereſt, ſupported each other. But, as taxes were continually demanded of them, they habituated themſelves

Authority of the commons.

themſelves alſo to demand in the people's name relief from oppreſſion, and the reformation of abuſes. The kings received their petitions, made laws in conſequence of them, and often without the participation of the nobles. The latter, finding theſe laws intereſted every part of the ſtate, inſiſted that their conſent was neceſſary to their eſtabliſhment. On the other ſide, the force of laws depending greatly on the manner in which they are expreſſed, the commons demanded, under Henry the fifth, that none ſhould be made which were not drawn up by them in the form of *bills*, which to paſs into laws muſt be approved by the upper houſe, and confirmed by the royal authority. At length the number of knights, or leſſer barons, became ſo great, that their rank, leſs diſtinguiſhed, was regarded as extremely inferior to that of the peers. The riches of the mercantile body increaſed in the ſame proportion, and brought them nearly on a level with the leſſer nobility. They judged it now proper to join the knights and burgeſſes. The deputies of counties, and repreſentatives of boroughs,

formed from this time, without diſtinction, the lower houſe, or houſe of commons, regarded long as the ſupport of the crown, which it attacked afterwards with ſuch violence under the Stuarts.

END OF VOL. I.